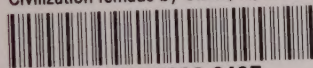


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The Meaning of Christianity



Human Ideals

CIVILIZATION REMADE BY CHRIST

OR

SOCIAL APPLICATIONS OF THE
MORAL TEACHING OF OUR LORD

BY

FREDERICK A. M. SPENCER, B.D.

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shall not pass away."*

PREFACE

CHRISTIANITY has to reform the world. In this book I attempt to show some of the ways in which it can do so. I am aware that my application of Christian ethics to modern society is very far from being complete. In particular, I am conscious of having passed by tremendous problems of economics (of capital, rent and interest, the reward of labour, and taxation); though I have indicated, in the chapter on the "Stewardship of Wealth," the approach to these problems suggested by the Gospel teaching. An adequate treatment of economic questions in the light of Christian ethics would demand another volume.

What precisely is to be included under "social applications" is not easy to determine. All morality is social in the wider sense; yet one would reserve the term rather for that morality which directly involves the united action of human beings with one another, especially that which bears upon established institutions and ingrained customs. I have been a little dubious how far marriage deserves to be classified as a social subject, seeing that it is primarily a compact between two, and immediately concerns only the small group of the family. Yet as a permanent and deeply-rooted institution, it evidently comes within the purview of social ethics, especially as it is intricately interwoven with the whole constitution of society. Besides, I have wished to develop, and in part to correct, what I had written

on marriage in my previous book, *The Ethics of the Gospel*. Indeed, this present book is intended to be a sequel to that, as developing a more systematic application of Christ's teaching to modern civilization.

In the last chapter I have connected morality, particularly social morality, with religion. The lack of correspondence between the traditional modes of worship and progressive practical Christianity I have long felt to be one of the most cramping and stultifying defects in the existing forms of religion. Services in church, except for the Bible reading and some sermons, appear lamentably unsatisfactory in their disregard of many things which really matter and the fine aspirations and endeavours of Christians to accomplish substantial and lasting good in the world. To pass from social service on week-days to Divine Service on Sundays has sometimes appeared like going back into a bygone age, when men had more restricted views of God's working than they have since attained unto. The ancient forms of approach to, and communion with, God in prayer and praise and sacrament will be vitalized by a copious infiltration into them of the present zeal to reform and develop the world according to the will of God. Conversely, this social and humanitarian enthusiasm will be purified and endowed with mighty force when it receives sanctification in worship.

Finally, I would beseech my readers to be patient and lenient, so that if they find things in this book of which they strongly disapprove they will not be prejudiced against agreeing with other things which are to their mind, and will not only agree, but help.

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CIVILIZATION REMADE BY CHRIST

CHAPTER I

THE SOCIAL APPLICABILITY OF THE GOSPEL ETHIC

I

BEFORE we can proceed to call for social reform in the name of Jesus Christ, it is well to consider certain doubts that have been raised as to whether His teaching may legitimately be used for that purpose. It has been objected that He intended His moral precepts only as methods of preparation during the brief period that remained before the end of the world and the final judgment on mankind. His purpose, it is alleged, was to teach men, not to reform a growing world, but to cut themselves loose from a world about to perish. This was the theory advanced by Dr. Johannes Weiss, which is usually known as "Interimsethik," and is expounded in *Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes*. It is based on two main grounds: first, that Jesus is several times recorded as having predicted the end of the world and the establishment of the Kingdom of God during the lifetime of some of His contemporaries; secondly, that His teaching is obviously unsuited to ordinary life in a civilized society.

Dr. Weiss is constrained to admit that Jesus had His hours of geniality: "The lily of the field in its beauty speaks to Him of the never-failing care of the Creator; out of the eye of the child shines into Him a ray of the being of God, Who loves His children. . . . It was at such times that He disseminated those maxims, full of the purest and deepest wisdom, which reveal no trace of eschatological excitement, but simply and quietly express what His clear, luminous, God-quickenened soul perceived as self-evident. Free from sharp and wounding spikes, they abide calm and beautiful, appearing in their direct, convincing strength to bear an undying validity for humanity of all ages." ¹ But Dr. Weiss supposed that this happy mood alternated with that dominated by the thought of the impending destruction of the world, which colours most of His teaching: "His demands are not derived from an ideal of a perfected human society, nor from general moral standards, but are based on the terrible seriousness of the present moment. The greatest crisis of world history stands at the door. The blesseddest salvation and the most frightful destruction lie concealed in the obscurity of the imminent future. Once again, at the eleventh hour, to everyone is granted the decision of his eternal fate. The time is short. It behoves us now to bethink ourselves of the will of God and to do what is possible to win His favour." Dr. Weiss is inclined to attribute this delusion to the influence of John the Baptist: "Had not the call on the Jordan swept Him into

¹ This and the following are translations I have made of excerpts from *Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes*.

the Messianic movement, it is possible that He might have been, correspondingly with His sane and bright disposition, which was His innermost nature, the Founder of an evangelical ethic, a very serious ethic certainly, yet one of joy in the world. As it was, His soul—apart from occasional respites—was tuned to another key.” It is thus that he explains Our Lord’s command to all to love their enemies; His invitation to the rich young ruler to sell all his possessions; His apparent refusal to allow an intending follower to bury his father; and the strange and terrible qualification for discipleship, to hate father and mother, brothers and sisters.

It is no light task to disentangle the various threads of truth and error in this drastic and somewhat unsympathetic reinterpretation of the message and mind of Jesus. A few criticisms should be enough for our present purpose.

(I) We may begin by challenging the main assumption of “Interimsethik,” that Jesus expected the near end of the world in a sense which would render His moral teaching for the most part inapplicable. It is well known that the apocalyptic or eschatological element is stronger in St. Matthew than in either St. Mark or St. Luke. For instance, instead of “till they see the Kingdom of God come with power” (Mark ix. 1), and “till they see the Kingdom of God” (Luke ix. 27), we read “till they see the Son of Man coming in His Kingdom” (Matt. xvi. 28). Seeing that much of Matthew’s phraseology is reminiscent of the Judaistic apocalyptic writings of the preceding two centuries, we may hold ourselves free to doubt

whether the descriptions in that Gospel of the end of the world and the judgment of mankind quite correctly reflect what Jesus actually said and thought.

(2) But, even taking the whole record of the Synoptic Gospels as they stand, we do not find it explicitly stated that the general resurrection and the judgment will take place at the coming of God's Kingdom in the near future. We may even think we discern indications that Jesus expected, if not always, at least sometimes, a long period before the complete end of mortal conditions on this planet: for instance, the words, "This Gospel of the Kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a testimony unto all the nations; and then shall the end come." We may also mark the absence in His teaching on marriage of any hint that before many years had elapsed marriage would have become obsolete.

(3) The basic principles of Our Lord's teaching are eternal. The commandments to love God and man are valid in this world and the next. So also, we may conjecture, are the precepts of fidelity and truthfulness and industry. We can practise in this world or æon the virtues required in the next world or æon; under difficulties, no doubt, but still enough to make all the difference as to our fitness to enter and live in the new world when it comes. The virtues which imply pain and sin—pity, courage, forgiveness—will perhaps have less scope, though even these may conceivably be used in quests to draw into the Kingdom of God those still outside it. Therefore, even if we suppose that Our Lord expected that a few years

from when He spoke the earth was to be utterly destroyed and a new habitation found for the human race, the regenerated members of which would be forthwith constituted immortal, even on this strange supposition we may still think that He regarded His ethical teaching as having permanent validity

(4) Dr. Weiss assures us that the injunctions to non-resistance had nothing to do with "shaming and reforming one's enemy," but "all the emphasis lies upon the readiness to suffer wrong," this being a method of renouncing the world. But we should consider in this connection another passage, in which Jesus urges to immense charity and generosity: "Release, and ye shall be released. Give, and it shall be given unto you; good measure, pressed down, shaken together, and running over, shall they give into your bosom. For with what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you again." The idea is that by kindness to others we shall induce them to be kind to us. Yet again, in the Sermon on the Mount: "Even so let your light shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in Heaven." The motive of winning others to God is here quite evident. But apart from any prospect of doing good to our enemies by meekness and complaisance, "non-resistance" may be commended for the sake of avoiding quarrels and worse treatment.

(5) Other hard sayings which Dr. Weiss regards as precepts of world-renunciation were quite clearly statements of the conditions of discipleship and were not intended for universal adoption; for instance:

"If any man cometh unto Me, and hateth not his own father and mother and wife and children and brethren and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be My disciple. Whosoever doth not bear his own cross, and come after Me, cannot be My disciple. . . . Whosoever he be of you that forsaketh not all that he hath, cannot be My disciple." The seemingly harsh replies to the man who asked leave to "bury his father," and to the other, who wished to bid his relations farewell, were said to would-be disciples. The command to the rich young ruler to sell all that he had and to give to the poor, accompanied the invitation: "Come, follow Me." To become a member of the missionary band of Jesus did involve severance of home ties and the prospect of hardship and sufferings. Jesus did not ask the whole population of Palestine to become His disciples in this literal sense, nor to renounce the world in this extreme manner, and we cannot think that He supposed that membership of the Kingdom would be confined to those who had given up home and work to preach the Gospel.

(6) Dr. Weiss regrets the absence from the recorded teaching of Jesus of "any strong clear maxims of His in which He exalted or called attention to the performance of public functions as a service to God." Others have wondered that He never condemned the institution of slavery. We may suppose that He did not wish those who accepted Him as the Christ to become embroiled in, or to stir up, political disputes and conflicts. In any case, He perceived that the social order in which He moved was heading for

disaster, and may have thought that attempts to reform it would be wasted effort.

(7) It seems probable that at least at one stage of His career Jesus looked for a regenerated earthly society as the result of His mission. This seems clearly indicated in the report of His sermon at Nazareth, when He read the words of the prophet : " The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because He hath anointed me to preach good tidings to the poor. He hath sent me to proclaim release to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty those that are bruised, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord." He immediately announced : " To-day hath this scripture been fulfilled in your hearing " ; as much as to say, " The prophet foretold of one who would announce the coming of righteous and happy social conditions ; I am that one, and they will soon come." In these words Jesus puts Himself in line with the great prophets of old, who castigated the prevalent social iniquity and foretold social righteousness. As Professor W. Rauschenbusch writes : " Whatever aspect any man emphasized, it [the hope of the Jewish people] was still a national and collective idea. It involved the restoration of Israel as a nation to outward independence, security, and power, such as it had under the Davidic kings. It involved that social justice, prosperity, and happiness for which the law and the prophets called, and for which the common people always long. It involved that religious purity and holiness of which the nation had always fallen short. And all this was to come in an ideal degree, such as God alone, by direct inter-

vention, could bestow. When Jesus used the phrase 'the Kingdom of God,' it inevitably evoked that whole sphere of thought in the minds of His hearers. If He did not mean by it the substance of what they meant by it, it was a mistake to use the term."¹

But how is all this consistent with the unmistakably apocalyptic character of Christ's teaching, at any rate of His later teaching? To some extent His attitude to what we may call the social aspect of the Kingdom of God seems to have been modified by His experience of rejection by the Chosen Race. "It is impossible to account for the language of bitter disappointment in which He protests against the coldness and enmity of Jerusalem, except on the assumption that He had previously believed that it would be otherwise."² The narrative suggests that it was only after He found that the Jews, as a nation, were not prepared to welcome Him that He became convinced of the necessity of His death. But the conclusion that He could only fulfil His mission of establishing God's Kingdom through and after death would naturally lead to a postponement of His programme of social reform. Nay more; the expectation of death would involve, and to some extent define, the expectation of a triumphant advent. If the Christ was to be the "Suffering Servant" of Deutero-Isaiah, He must also be in some sense the supernatural "Son of Man" of the Book of Enoch.

¹ *Christianity and the Social Crisis*, pp. 56, 57. Mr. Conrad Noel argues that to the Jews "kingdom" meant, not so much rule, as commonwealth.—*The Pilgrim*, October 1925.

² Dr. C. J. Cadoux in *The Resurrection and Second Advent of Jesus*, p. 7.

But this acceptance of the apocalyptic outlook would not invalidate the prophetic outlook. Even if He thought of Himself as shortly to return in glory, it is conceivable that He still believed that He would have to reform the human race in its mortal state on earth before lifting it into a deathless condition in Heaven. In any case, if we treat Our Lord's apocalyptic predictions of a speedy return to rule as symbolic of His spiritual return and continued influence over His Church, it is really this which happened and is happening; that is, if we believe that Christ does still personally inspire those who believe in Him. He has certainly, by the record of His teaching—also by direct influence, if the Christian faith is not mistaken—been transforming mankind in accordance with the ideal which He indicated to His audience at Nazareth. Granted that the process is much slower and longer than Jesus with His limited earthly knowledge foresaw, yet it is essentially a fulfilment of His programme, of His presentation of God's purpose for humanity. Nor does this view necessarily exclude an expectation of a much more adequate realization of His eschatological predictions, some clearer manifestation of His presence, at the "consummation of the age." We can best harmonize the various aspects of Christ's teaching by supposing a more or less orderly social progress, punctuated by crises and judgments and new departures, tending towards such a spiritual life of man in union with God that at last death will be swallowed up in life, and human beings will become, as Christ said, "like the angels in Heaven."

But, however that may be, there appears ample warrant, both in the teaching of Jesus on earth and in the subsequent spiritual movements among those who have regarded Him as Lord, in considering it to be one of the main branches of the application of Christianity, to transform and develop human society according to the principles which He taught and, we may believe, still teaches.

II

While, then, we cannot accept the "Interimsethik" theory as it stands, we must admit that the teaching of Jesus on moral matters was in the form most suited to the circumstances in which He lived, and therefore in a form imperfectly suited to other circumstances. It was the ethic of an interim in the very limited sense that, since no phase of human evolution is wholly like any other phase, by being adapted to one phase it has to be re-thought to become adapted to the phase in which we find ourselves to-day.

There were certain characteristics of the world to which Christ spoke which affected the manner of His presentation of the moral ideal :

(1) Society was relatively simple, and travel and communication were slow and difficult.

(2) Mankind was for the most part indifferent and even hostile to the profession of Christianity.

(3) The new religion arose in a people that had lost its national independence, and was governed by a nation that could neither sympathize with, nor comprehend, it.

(4) The world was in truth, though not in the sense imagined by the Jewish Apocalyptists, soon to pass away.

These circumstances enable us to account, to some extent at least, for those features, both positive and negative, in Our Lord's moral teaching which seem unsuitable to us in this present age :

(1) The comparative isolation and immobility of the population rendered indiscriminate charity less perilous to the moral fibre of the recipients and to the stability of society. For fraud and indolence could more readily be checked, and economic disorganization would not spread so widely or rapidly. Hence the absence of qualifications in Christ's injunctions to generosity and almsgiving.

(2) Special and responsible tasks in His Name were more likely to provoke active opposition and therefore were less compatible with social position and family ties. Hence the call to the disciples to forsake all and to " hate " their relations.

(3) There was no immediate prospect of reforming the government of the world. Hence Our Lord's indifference to political arrangements, signally expressed in the words, " Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's."

(4) The constant mutual irritation between the governing and governed nations, the contemptuous cruelty of the Romans towards subject peoples on the one hand, and the national pride of the Jews on the other, were certain, to speak humanly, to lead before many years had elapsed to an armed conflict, in which it was also practically certain that the Romans

would win. Of what avail, then, would have been any scheme of social reform? Even the Roman civilization had within it the seeds of decay, and in the natural course of things was destined to be destroyed by peoples less enervated and corrupt. The times were not ripe for the saving of infant lives, for the provision of healthy dwellings and adequate food for the rising generation, for education directed towards the harmonious development of human personality—in fact, for all those social aims on which enthusiastic Christians have rightly set their hearts.

So we find in the moral teaching of Our Lord unacceptable features, both positive and negative, but mainly negative. On the positive side, we do not think it right literally to give to everyone who asks, to renounce property and work, to sever bonds of home and kinship. Of a few, to whom special calls have come, or who have found themselves in peculiar surroundings of atheism or immorality, some such renunciation may be required. But in a world which makes even a perfunctory acknowledgment of Christian principles, the normal social life will be more compatible with special tasks for the Kingdom of Heaven than in the days when Jesus walked among men.

Then, negatively, we miss in the Gospels, as Dr. Weiss remarks, any commendation of public service as a duty to God. We also miss any injunction to the systematic service of mankind, with a view to the rearing of a better humanity evolving in body and mind and spirit, and knit together by the bonds of love and common ideals. Yet we must not forget

that the "sect of the Nazarenes" in Jerusalem did initiate a Christian communal life, which persecution made it impossible for them to continue or develop.

Yet it is only in form, not in essence, that Christ's moral teaching is unsuitable to the modern world. We may still win others by exceeding meekness and generosity. We are still enjoined to give without stint, though with more careful consideration of the manner of doing so. We are still called on to hold cheap our own lives and possessions, and to hold dear the fulfilment of our life-tasks, though it cost us deep wounds in our natural affections.

Christ's moral teaching was then in one sense an "Interimsethik"; for it was adapted to a fleeting phase of history in one little country, to a transitional epoch, to a generation that preceded a terrible destruction of the national existence. It was the ethic of the end of an age, of "the last days," in which men were cut off from the great forward movements of human progress. It therefore seems to some strangely short-sighted and narrow. For it takes account neither of the far future, nor of the great world of civilization, nor of the whole of human nature in its manifold and developing complexity. We want an ethic suitable to the evolution of humanity, of the human race with its nations and states and various cultures, of man himself with his instincts inherited from a pre-human ancestry, and his science and philosophy and art and social idealism.

And yet Jesus gives us such an ethic, if only we have the intelligence and sympathy to apprehend it. And the gift is surely the more precious because it

requires intelligence and sympathy in the recipients. It is given to us, but we have to take it with the help of strenuous thought and deep feeling. We must be learners at the feet of Jesus, and yet exercise the utmost originality and independence. He demands our obedience and encourages our freedom.

The ethic of Jesus is like all great art, the presentation of a universal idea in an individual form, the unique manifestation of an eternal essence. This is what constitutes its validity and its charm. It is at once inimitable and obligatory. Its transient particularity shows forth its imperishable universality.

The conditions of the world are much more favourable than they were in New Testament times for a thoroughgoing and comprehensive social ethic. For science has greatly increased the wealth-producing capacity of mankind, so that there is more surplus energy available for the development of a rich and many-sided human life. Science has also brought people all over the world into closer touch with one another: by increased rapidity of transport and communication, notably by means of newspapers and in these last days also by wireless broadcasting, so that men and nations may influence one another far more speedily and thoroughly and co-operate more effectively for common purposes. Moreover, Christianity has during the centuries been leavening the world. The figure of Christ has been acting as a magnet on mankind, drawing all men to Himself. Even to heathen peoples has He become in some measure the way, the truth, and the life, in so far as He is revered as a good man and a prophet of God. Thus has mankind been pre-

pared for its formation into a mighty fellowship in a world-wide association, and a moral transformation of all its manifold conditions and activities. It is for us in our generation to render explicit the implications of the teaching and life of the Son of Man, and to apply them widely and deeply to all human affairs.

CHAPTER II

FROM WAR TO PEACE

THE questions concerning the relation of Christianity to war fall under two main headings: (1) Under what conditions, if any, is warfare consistent with the ethics of Christ? (2) How is Christianity to abolish war?

I

Are we to believe that all war is, from the Christian standpoint, wrong and sinful, in the sense that a nation ought not, under any circumstances, to defend itself? This, I submit, is not a legitimate inference from the maxim, "Resist not evil."¹ Our Lord never, so far as we know, discountenanced the use of force by constituted authority to protect life. The presumption is that He approved of it, since St. Paul regarded even pagan rulers as ordained by God to repress crime (Romans xiii. 1-6). If, then, a state has the duty of defending the persons and property of its members from mutual violence, should it not also defend them from external aggression?

We must use common sense in determining the legitimacy of defensive wars. If, for instance, a civilized nation is threatened with an invasion by a horde of savages, it is surely lawful and obligatory to inflict death on a few of them in preference to allowing

¹ For a discussion on the exegesis and application of this saying, I would refer to *The Ethics of the Gospel*, pp. 66 ff.

them to kill and outrage vast numbers of peaceful people. Even for the sake of the savages, it seems right to do this. On the other hand, if a small curtailment of national independence and deprivation of national property can only be prevented by a lengthy war involving much slaughter and destruction, submission to the loss and injustice is manifestly both more Christian and more expedient. Somewhere in between these two extreme instances must be the dividing line between right and wrong in going to war. I ask to be excused from the attempt to determine its position more nearly, except for the observation that the nations of Christendom have been far too ready to defend themselves from supposed aggression and insult, and meekness should occupy a larger place in national as well as in private conduct.

An allied, though distinct, class of questions is upon the ethics of the individual citizen's participation in, or standing aloof from, or opposition to, the wars of his country. Let us suppose that he disapproves of the declaration of war by the Government of his country, believing that submission to the exorbitant demands of the enemy would have been more Christian ; yet may he not be right in deeming it his duty to enlist for active service, seeing that his country's defeat would be more of a disaster to humanity than the defeat of the enemy country ? On the other hand, he may think his country so much in the wrong, so wicked in its aggression, that he will, as a servant of Christ, court death in resisting conscription, and in dissuading others from fighting and manufacturing munitions. But we should refrain from severe judg-

ment on those brave and honourable men who have fought in unjust wars not of their making. It requires considerable clear-sightedness to judge fairly between one's own country and its enemies, and extraordinary courage to incur disgrace, the scorn of kindred and friends, and the risk of a traitor's death, in resistance to unjust war-making.

In order to think rightly and charitably on this subject, we should consider the attitude of Our Lord and His friends to the profession of arms. To begin with, we read that John the Baptist told the Roman soldiers, who asked his advice, not to pillage or levy blackmail so as to supplement their pay, but apparently said nothing about refusing to take part in wars. It was of a Roman centurion that Christ Himself remarked: "I have not found so great faith; no, not in Israel." He healed this centurion's servant, and let him remain an officer. It almost seems suggested that the man, "being under authority," was not morally responsible for his military acts. We recall, too, the conversion of another centurion, Cornelius, "a religious man, who revered God with all his household, who was liberal in his alms to the People, and who constantly prayed to God" (Acts x. 2, 3—Moffatt). Nowhere in the New Testament is it intimated that soldiers ought to leave their calling, so as to avoid having to kill. But what would Jesus have said if a soldier had asked Him what he ought to do if commanded to put a particularly cruel order into execution? Surely He would have told him to disobey at the cost of his own life. But He probably thought that these soldiers who believed in the King-

dom of God had better remain in their profession, performing their ordinary military duties, and meanwhile being as light and salt to their comrades. All this by no means implies that a man, even a professional soldier, may never be called on by God to refuse to take part in his country's war, becoming a martyr for peace. But it does imply that it is unfair and unreasonable to blame all who fight in unjust wars for which they are not responsible. God does not require impossibilities; neither should we.

II

We are naturally more interested to-day in the problem how to abolish war. The situation, to judge by the utterances of eminent men, is terribly serious. The following may serve as typical:

(1) Viscount Bryce says: "The world cannot be left where it is now. If the peoples do not try to destroy war, war will destroy them."¹

(2) Mr. Lowes Dickinson writes: "My theme may be put in a sentence: If mankind does not end war, war will end mankind. This has not been true in the past. But it is true in the present. For the present has produced something new. It has produced science."²

(3) Mr. Oscar Newfang writes: "Mankind is faced by a stern alternative. Either civilization must destroy war, or war will destroy it."³

¹ *International Relations*, p. 254. The book consists, in substance, of lectures delivered in the U.S.A. in 1921.

² *War: its Nature, Cause, and Cure*, p. 11.

³ *The Road to World Peace*, p. xiii.

But how is war to be destroyed and brought to an end? We are surely right in answering that we can do it by means of Christianity, or, more explicitly, by the power of God through Christ. This does not mean by the simple expedient of telling Governments not to fight, which might provoke the retort: "Whom will he teach knowledge? And whom will he make to understand the message?" (Isaiah xxviii. 9). Nor is it enough to say that the right method is to make the nations, by Divine aid, thoroughly Christian. For, in the first place, the necessity for preventing war is too urgent for us to wait till all, or even the majority of men, attain a high level of Christian character. And, secondly, men cannot proceed very far in the realization of the moral ideal of Christ unless they do cease to go to war; for universal peace must be regarded as a stage or factor in the moral progress of humanity, rather than as a consequence of it.

We have to apply the moral and redemptive principles contained in the Gospel to the complex national immoralities and illusions out of which wars arise, utilizing such social science and psychology as we can command. What, then, are the immoralities and illusions, driving or inclining the nations to take up arms? Generally speaking, we may affirm that nations quarrel and fight for the same reasons as individuals: because they like fighting; because one wants to take from another the power of hurting him or it; because they exult in the sense of superiority and resent being treated as inferior; because they want one another's wealth. These motives act with greater force and persistency in nations than in isolated

individuals because of the mutual support and stimulus which comes from association. To express this in terms of modern psychology, as expounded, for example, by Dr. McDougall, nations go to war from the instincts of combativeness, fear, self-assertion, acquisitiveness; while the gregarious instinct assists by drawing together individuals, who might otherwise be loath to fight, into a closely-knit group-mind, passionately actuated by those instincts.¹

Two other classes of motives have in time past caused, or helped to cause, wars; those connected with religion, and those connected with superabundant population. History records great and prolonged conflicts from professedly religious reasons (to defend the honour and sacred places of a deity, to convert other nations to the faith); but it may be doubted whether the ostensible purpose was much more than an excuse for the exercise of other instincts. Did not the Arabs want the wealth of Egypt when they conquered it in the name of Allah and Mohammed? Was it not very much the eagerness to play the game of war which lured the Crusaders to Palestine? In any case, religious reasons are hardly now, in the more civilized nations, regarded as valid excuses for military enterprise. Then as to wars due to pressure of population, we recall great migrations of barbarous peoples, as those of the Goths and Vandals in the fifth century, which may be attributed to a very primitive operation of the acquisitive instinct, the impulse to get the means to a tolerable existence, when living was very meagre at home. In recent centuries, in Europe,

¹ Dr. McDougall, *Social Psychology* and *The Group-Mind*, *passim*.

this cause of war has been in a large measure removed by the discovery of unpopulated lands suitable for cultivation. But the prospect of its revival should not be overlooked.

We will now review briefly the working of the four above-mentioned instincts in their war-making tendencies, and inquire how they may be counteracted and diverted with the aid of Christian principles.

1. The *Iliad*, the *Æneid*, and many another epic, witness to the fascination of fighting and the satisfaction in killing felt by men in bygone times. The Old Testament provides plenty of examples, such as the triumph-songs of Moses (*Exodus* xv.) and of Deborah (*Judges* v.), also the very name given to the Deity, "the Lord of Hosts"; while Tennyson makes the aged Ulysses speak of having "drunk delight of battle with my peers." Modern men, for the most part, prefer to drink the delight of battle at second-hand, through literature. But when war breaks out a fierce desire seizes them to rush to the fray and smite the enemy. That is one reason why recruiting proceeds so rapidly in the beginning.

The war-making disposition is, however, kept alive during peace-time, at least in a large and not uninfluential portion of the population, by means of armaments. These constitute the expression and embodiment of the national combativeness. They are, in fact, arrested war, ever waiting the occasion to pass into complete war. Viscount Bryce says, with reference to the years immediately preceding the fatal summer of 1914: "The growth of armies had produced a large military and naval caste, a great profession in

which the habit of thinking about war had in some countries grown to be a mental obsession, almost a disease. The building up of huge armies and navies had created the desire to use them.”¹ He finds the words of Shakespeare appropriate :

How oft the sight of means to do ill deeds,
Makes ill deeds done.

Lowes Dickinson writes as follows : “ The real cause of war, then, in the modern world, and whenever, in history, there have existed independent States armed against one another, is first the desire of all States to hold what they have and to take what belongs to others ; next, the armaments produced by that situation.”²

Oscar Newfang remarks on the peril of “ armaments and war materials, which there is always a strong temptation to use after they have been prepared.”³

If, then, armaments cause war, and if war, unless checked, will soon destroy mankind, or at least the existing civilization, we seem committed to the opinion expressed by Major-General Seeley, that the choice is “ really between disarmament and extermination.”⁴

2. The combative and the fear instincts are so mutually dependent and provocative and altogether intertwined, that it is more convenient to take them together when we consider how they may be checked and diverted from destructive into beneficent channels. For men hate those whom they fear and look out for opportunities to destroy or incapacitate them, and by

¹ *International Relations*, p. 37.

² *War : its Nature, Cause, and Cure*, p. 51.

³ *The Road to World Peace*, p. 239

⁴ Lowes Dickinson, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

so doing excite both fear and hate in their opponents. Nations have been wont to increase their armaments, not merely for purposes of attack, but also for defence. But increased armaments both stimulate the combative instinct in their possessors, and impel other nations in fear to increase their armaments and therefore to stimulate their combative instinct also. Fear undoubtedly promoted the race in armaments before the Great War, in particular driving Great Britain to maintain a two-Power naval standard. Fear increases armaments, the increased armaments excite and foster the itch for war, and the twain tempt a nation to strike boldly when it thinks it has a temporary advantage. Viscount Bryce writes, with regard to the outbreak of the war in 1914: "Fear, moreover, was added. Russia and Germany each feared the other, each dreaded a sudden attack by the other."¹

1 and 2. The countering of the combativeness and fear which tend to war will be twofold: (a) the abolition of their material embodiment, namely, large armaments; (b) the radical transformation of these instincts themselves.

(a) The Sixth Assembly of the League of Nations made this pronouncement: "The Assembly . . . in conformity with the spirit of Article 8 of the Covenant, requests the Council to make a preparatory study with a view to a conference on the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments, in order that as soon as satisfactory conditions have been assured from the point of view of general security, . . . the said conference may be convened and a general reduction and

¹ *International Relations*, p. 38.

limitation of armaments may be realized." For a practical proposal to this end we may consult Mr. Noel Baker's book on the subject. He suggests limiting the armaments of the various nations according to a ratio based on population, or on national budgets, or on other factors in the international situation. Any such proposal must be highly contentious and can only be carried through with much mutual accommodation. But he thinks that the time is favourable ; for, writing in 1926, he says : " Frankly, what chance is there now of success ? Surely a great chance, on one condition : that Great Britain should give the lead. America stands ready, ardent if doubting ; Germany, eager for the equality which only our disarmament can bring ; France, democratic France, ready to take a risk for reconciliation ; Russia, using fair words, fairer than could have been expected ; all the smaller Powers enthusiastic for results for which they have been waiting long. The influence of the British Empire in every question of international affairs is almost infinitely great ; in this grave matter, if it were wisely, firmly used, who doubts that it would be decisive ? " ¹

But the mere reduction of armaments, however equitably conceived and carried out, would not by itself remove fear or the capacity of the stronger nation to coerce the weaker. Mr. Oscar Newfang sees the defect in any such scheme, and proposes in its stead the more heroic remedy of the transference of armaments to a world government. Seeing that the League of Nations, though providing an impartial court of

¹ *Disarmament*, pp. 327, 328.

international justice, has, as at present constituted, but feeble and uncertain power for enforcing the verdicts, he argues that "there is only one thing that will make war for ever impossible between nations, and that is the centralizing of their armed forces under the control of a representative world organization, the prohibition of all naval and air forces to the member States, and the restriction of their land forces to the normal requirements of an internal police."¹ He says that the transference of national armaments to the League must be gradual, "say ten per cent. of each nation's armament each decade, on account of the magnitude of the change, the inability of the world organization to assimilate the heterogeneous forces too rapidly," and the natural slowness of the growth of "loyalty to the world government and a League patriotism."² He believes that "a federation of nations, gradually developed from the present League of Nations," is the goal to strive for.³

(b) Such comprehensive schemes relating to the material apparatus of war are likely to halt and prove ineffective, unless the nations deal more directly with the hate and fear which have produced both armaments and war. According to modern psychological teaching, we must find alternative outlets for the primary instincts whence these wicked passions and actions spring forth. It is, however, doubtful how far the instincts of combativeness and fear demand constant exercise, or whether they are rather to be compared to taps or sluices which only let the water through

¹ *Disarmament*, p. 327.

² *Ibid.*, p. 296.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 330.

when turned or lifted. In any case, physical pugnacity is by no means essential to human nature. In India, for example, Sikhs and Gurkas are warlike, but the majority of the inhabitants are peaceful. The ordinary artisan or business man of the Occidental nations does not care for battles, but wishes to live safely and undisturbed. Perhaps the bellicose temperament is tending to die out ; for we no longer fight duels like our ancestors, and would intensely dislike being compelled to do so.

The same question arises with regard to fear. Should we seek to provide some reasonable outlets for it, that it may not find undesirable expressions, making us afraid in silly ways ? Or should we try to repress fear, as far as is consistent with safety ? Dr. Hadfield inclines to the former view, maintaining that fear should be sublimated into caution.¹

Our Lord clearly indicated the moral transmutation of both pugnacity and timidity, when He enlisted His followers in a war to the death against disease, insanity, and sin, and bade them fear, not their human enemies, but " him who has the power to cast into hell." ² Practically these propensities may be of great avail when directed towards the evils which afflict mankind. It is well both to fear these evils, in the

¹ *Psychology and Morals*, pp. 154, 155 : " The superfluous fear becomes attached to all kinds of indifferent objects, and we fear ourselves and develop ' phobias.' . . . The sublimation of fear is found in that alertness of mind which is able to perceive emergencies and to prepare to meet them."

² Vide *The Ethics of the Gospel*, p. 159. If " him " refer to God, the fear of God as Judge will naturally involve fear of those social iniquities which provoke His wrath. If " him " refer to the devil, the fear of the devil will naturally involve fear of the social iniquities which he fosters.

sense of being aware of their approach, and then to submerge the fear in a brave and even fierce attack upon them. The international combativeness and fear which have made war may thus be re-directed upon the real enemies of the human race, especially in their international aspect, so as to foster the growth of a world group-consciousness. Such enemies are : infectious diseases that sweep from land to land, the trade in slaves and prostitutes and pernicious drugs, commercial disorganization causing unemployment and depression of wages, and war itself. Crusades against these may be conducted, not only with the calm and resolute skill of political and scientific authorities and their immediate subordinates, but also with popular alarm and indignation co-operating in a multitude of little ways.

But we should not overlook the fascination that military life has upon some, seeming to provide that hardy corporate discipline, that exercise of gregarious combativeness, which is lacking in most civilian careers. It was substantially this that William James had in mind when he wrote his essay, *The Moral Equivalent of War*, in which he proposed conscription for the more strenuous physical labours of the community, as being the best "substitute for war's disciplinary function": work such as mining, deep-sea fishing, and the like, in which young men—may we add "young women"—might do a term of service? ¹ The

¹ "To coal and iron mines, to freight trains, to fishing fleets in December, to dish-washing, clothes-washing, and window-washing, to road-building and tunnel-building, to foundries and stokeholes, and to the frames of sky-scrappers, would our gilded youths be drafted off, according to their choice," *ibid.*

fact that young people are apt to regard the mild hardships of camping out as excellent "fun," points to the psychological value of some form of peaceful militarism. We would not do away entirely with the combative temper, the zest of vigorous aggression, seeing that it is an antidote to complacency and inertia.

Ultimately, however, the hatred and fear which beget war can only be exorcized by love, manifested and stimulated by constant deeds of kindness. Though the sublimation of the war-passions will still be required, if only for the sake of social and personal sanity and vigour, yet more radical, speedier, and surer will be the operation of the kindness of one nation to another, or even of a number of the members of one nation to those of another, in rendering war impossible and unthinkable. Jesus pointed the way when He said: "Give, and it shall be given you; good measure, shaken together, pressed down, and running over shall men give into your bosom." The famines and destitution among the belligerent nations after the declaration of peace afforded a great opportunity, very meagrely seized, of evoking grateful friendship among late opponents. If in millions of homes fathers and mothers have seen their children saved from slow decline and emaciation by the generosity of the citizens of less unfortunate countries, they will conceive an affection for, and trust in, their benefactors, and so start a tradition of friendship strong enough to survive many political misunderstandings. To love our enemies is a policy of wisdom in international, as in private, affairs.

From feeding the hungry and clothing the naked, and providing well-equipped hospitals for the distressed among our late foes or allies, we may proceed to educational services, such as the donation of books and scientific apparatus to poverty-stricken universities, and the offer of hospitality to travelling students; to financial services, such as loans at a very low rate of interest for the settlement of refugees and the rehabilitation of agriculture and industry, and to various other forms of help in repairing the ravages of war and promoting progress. The benefits will soon become reciprocal, cementing the brotherhood of nations and making war seem an incredible nightmare, and large armaments an absurdity and an insult.

3. Intimately connected with the combative is the self-regarding or self-assertive instinct. To show oneself the superior in a fight gratifies the desire to think oneself great or worthy. Yet they are not identical. It is possible to be, as President Wilson said, "too proud to fight." It is also possible in less serious combats to enjoy a losing game. Pride tends to warfare when victory promises enlarged self-importance, or submission to insults or unjust claims threatens an abasement of personal dignity. One might express the relation between the two instincts by calling the combative a servant of the self-assertive. It is, of course, difficult to analyse their relative proportions in actual instances. But in the wars of the great empires and of conquerors fired with imperialistic ambitions, the self-assertive instinct may, with some probability, be accounted the ruling passion.

The great monarchs of yore gloried in the vastness

of the territory they possessed and the multitude of the subjects over which they ruled. Other kingdoms and empires seemed, by their very existence, to challenge and affront their Majesties. To crush them into subjection filled them with exultation. And the ministers and generals of these potentates participated in their truculent megalomania. To what else can we attribute the great empires of Egypt and Babylonia and Assyria and Persia and Macedonia and many another?

Monarchical government has tended to war, because of the adulation paid to monarchs as masters of their peoples and owners of their kingdoms. If a naturally egotistical and ambitious man comes to the throne, who shall say what grandiose schemes of conquest he will not conceive? But even republics have become imbued with the same imperialistic fever, like the Athens of Pericles and like Rome during several centuries. Yet it should be remarked that these republics were, for practical purposes, really close oligarchies, on account of the vast slave populations and the absence of representative government. On the whole, monarchy appears more bellicose than any other form of government, as the numerous dynastic wars of mediæval and modern Europe testify. The democratic idea, with its insistence on equality, is naturally repressive of overweening political pride. So we may take comfort in the recent disappearance of some of the old-established militaristic lines of emperors—in Germany and Austria and Russia.

But apart from the lust of conquest, patriotic pride

is a danger to peace. What a wave of warlike passion sweeps over the land if we hear that some foreigner has torn down our flag or insulted our ambassador ! Such indignities seem to demand instant and ample apology, or else wiping out in blood. At such moments people forget that " the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God." Besides, however, such fanciful occasions of conflict, there are the more substantial disagreements about frontiers and trading rights, and the treatment due to the nationals of one State resident in the territory of another. One reason why these are liable to lead to war is that each nation is apt to regard itself as not getting justice in the settlement determined on by the conference of the representatives of the parties to the dispute. Individuals can take their quarrels to courts of law, and even if disappointed with the judicial finding, need suffer no wound to their self-respect. But nations commonly regard themselves as cheated by unfair diplomacy, or as the victims of injustice, when yielding to superior force. An impartial court of international arbitration, such as the League of Nations offers, should go far to avert this sense of grievance. The nation that loses its suit, though it may consider itself unfortunate, has little excuse to feel itself humiliated.

Our Lord laid His finger on the egotism of worldly governments when He said : " Ye know that the rulers of the Gentiles lord it over them, and their great ones exercise authority upon them." He contrasted with that the Christian ideal of service for the common good : " Whosoever would be great among you

shall be your minister ; and whosoever would be first among you shall be your servant." This was intended primarily for the disciples in their mutual relations, but is applicable also to the political affairs of mankind. Jesus did not attempt to eliminate from the nature of man desire for honour and self-respect, but indicated their true ground, namely, social usefulness, self-accommodating and self-denying devotion to the welfare of others. This conception of worth applies to everyone, to the king on his throne as much as to the humblest labourer. It applies also to nations in their mutual dealings. Whatsoever nation would be great must put itself at the service of other nations. It may only respect itself and earn the esteem of others if it does so adopt the attitude of a servant. And by being servants one of another, nations will become also members one of another. Thus the pride of domination will yield to the joy of service and the exhilaration that comes of union.

4. St. James attributed fighting to acquisitiveness : " Where do conflicts, where do wrangles come from, in your midst ? Is it not from these passions that war in your members ? You crave and miss what you want : you envy and covet, but you cannot acquire : you wrangle and fight " (James iv. 1, 2—Moffatt).

Savage tribes used to fight to get one another's fertile lands and accumulated wealth. The promise of loot has been used to spur soldiers into battle, who had little care for the grounds of quarrel between their kings and Governments. But in the last century motives of gain of a more complicated nature have

become an important factor in causing strained relations between European Powers.

Trade between country and country has increased. Men have been lured abroad by the expectation of wealth in land and mine and fishery ; and they have looked to their own Governments to protect their trade-routes, their markets, and their new-found homes. Both competition between the traders and settlers of different nations, and disputes between these and the natives of the lands to which they have come, naturally lead to appeals to armed force. And the success of these lucrative undertakings is largely determined by the military and naval strength of the nation to which they belong and its readiness to use it in their behalf.

A few years before the Great War, Mr. Norman Angell attempted to expose the futility of the acquisitiveness which tried to glut itself by conquest. He argued that modern civilized nations form such an economic organism that, the more the victors rob the vanquished, the more they hurt themselves. For huge indemnities, by upsetting the delicate poise of financial relations, disorganize commerce and spread unemployment. That this is true as regards two fairly equally industrialized communities is difficult to disprove. But the rivalry of the great European Powers during the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries has been concerned rather with the not yet industrialized and for the most part scantily populated tracts of the earth's surface and the wealth lying stored within them.

Mr. H. N. Brailsford, writing a little later, made

this clear. "The modern Imperialist," he says, "seeks new countries to 'exploit,' promising regions with virgin mines, untilled fields, cities without banks, routes without rails. These are the opportunities he covets. He is pleased to have them without conquest, and he does not desire war. His ideal is to fence them in as an economic sphere of interest, within which he may dump his capital as a national monopoly."¹ "An English company will not receive a concession to build a railway in a German colony, nor, in spite of our devotion to the maxims of free trade and to the principle of the open door, does one find German railways in British colonies."² Similarly, with regard to spheres of influence in foreign countries: "When our representatives in China try to obtain a concession for a British syndicate, they do not threaten Chinese statesmen with the instant bombardment of a Chinese port. Diplomacy is neither so brutal nor so predatory as that. But Chinese statesmen in dealing with us must, none the less, remember that we have sometimes bombarded their ports and sacked their palaces. . . . Our hostility is dangerous, and our support valuable in the last resort, because we are a great naval Power."³ This is the *Realpolitik*, the most important department of national policy. Armaments are required to win and to retain new areas for the profitable employment of money capital in the hands of financial magnates and trusts. The armaments are not necessarily used for actual conquest, but rather to bring pressure on the foreign Govern-

¹ *The War of Steel and Gold*, p. 164.

² *Ibid.*, 165.

³ *Ibid.*, 168.

ments to pay interest on loans and to give concessions for industrial undertakings. The money-making is facilitated by treaties, and the treaties are enforced by military power, various nations competing, both diplomatically and militaristically. "Diplomacy, in these rivalries, becomes the tool of the vast aggregations of modern capital in oil trusts, steel trusts, and money trusts. . . . Armies and fleets are the material arguments behind this financial diplomacy."¹ "Imperialism is simply the political manifestation of the growing tendency of capital accumulated in the more civilized industrial countries to export itself to the less civilized and the less settled."² Mr. Brailsford mentions as subsidiary causes of this alliance between capitalism and militarism: first, the desire of the upper classes to find careers for their younger sons; secondly, the capital invested in armaments. Such are the real motives of national expansion and aggrandizement abroad, supported by a proud and aggressive patriotism in the popular mind. "The pride of race, the insolence of colour, the megalomania which swells as it contemplates great possessions and vast territories, the theatrical instinct which hails even war as a relief from the drab monotony of modern industrial life, the ignorant distrust of the 'foreigner,' the inability to seize the standpoint of a rival—all of these reinforce the financial pressure towards expansion."³ "For each of them [the diplomatist and the financier] it is part of the providential order of the Universe that patriotism should

¹ *The War of Steel and Gold*, p. 63.

² *Ibid.*, p. 79.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

profit the governing class.”¹ One result of all this is the competitive increase of armaments—not merely for the sake of war, but to avoid being outdone in the so-called “peaceful penetration” of foreign countries. But, as we have seen, to increase armaments is to increase the itch to use them, the eagerness to set them really working as they are meant to be worked.

Recent history affords abundant examples of all this: the French and British rivalry in Egypt and the Sudan, which led to the Fashoda incident in 1898; the competition between Germany and Britain for the exploitation of China, particularly the rich Yangtse valley; the French and German rivalry over Morocco, largely on account of its iron ore; the German ambitions to control the route through Turkey to Persia with its oil-fields. Mr. Brailsford, in an added chapter, suggests that if some agreement had been reached upon the question of punishment and compensation for the assassination of the Austrian Crown-Prince, yet the war would have been only postponed, so long as the wealth of South-Western Asia remained a prize to be won.

We are wont to attribute war to the wickedness and folly of human beings; but the international dealings which produce dangerous situations are not usually carried on by the nation as a whole. As Mr. Brailsford says with reference to pre-war conditions, “In all European countries, foreign affairs are in the hands of a close bureaucracy, which is rarely amenable to any pressure but that of the small governing class and the financial interests allied with it.”² If we may

¹ *The War of Steel and Gold*, p. 219.

² *Ibid.*, p. 129.

speak of nations as individuals, the acquisitive instinct embodied in the capitalists and the combative instinct embodied in the ministers of foreign affairs and the chiefs of the fighting services together directed the national foreign policies, in comparative dissociation from the general mind and will of the nations, which were far more concerned with internal politics. Certainly war cannot be declared or prosecuted without the general approval, not to say enthusiasm. But the reasons why a nation, as a whole, rushes eagerly into war, are not the reasons which dictated the policy which produced the dispute which led to the conflict. To quote Mr. Brailsford again: "What has to be controlled is precisely what is least known—our policy in pressing for concessions or in drawing the boundaries of spheres of influence."¹ There is much truth in Mr. Lowes Dickinson's observation: "Wars are caused, not by the passions of ordinary men, but by the playing upon them by particular men."²

To these evils and perils must be added the temptation that comes to the managers of labour in uncivilized lands to use brutal methods of coercion. There were neither police nor trade unions to protect the workers in the rubber plantations of the Congo or of Putumayo. Cruelties have a way of coming home to roost years, or even generations, after they have been committed. Lest the coloured peoples of the globe ever rise in their millions upon millions to wreak vengeance on the white, there is a special call for kindness and consideration to obliterate, before it is too late, the memory of ancient wrongs.

¹ *The War of Steel and Gold*, p. 208.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 57.

All this shows the need for putting our foreign economic enterprise under some form of national, or even international, control. The moral responsibility of a nation for the conduct of its members in remote lands should be made clear and effective. Might not representatives of various departments of the national life, not least of the religious, proceed to appoint a committee for the supervision of the commercial and financial schemes of their fellow-countrymen abroad? The issues at stake are so tremendous—namely, the harmonious expansion, or the fratricidal destruction, of the nations of the earth—that we are justified in proposing even drastic and Utopian plans for meeting them.

On the international plane, as elsewhere, we have to "make friends by means of the mammon of unrighteousness." The draining of tropical swamps, the irrigation of deserts, the cultivation of wildernesses, the exploitation of mines in mountain fastnesses, the driving of railroads across continental spaces—all ought ideally to be carried out for the benefit of the neighbouring inhabitants and the enrichment of all mankind. In this department of material civilization, where individualism has been most rampant and unalleviated, with the inevitable consequences of cruelty and conflict, there is a peculiar necessity for co-operation, both national and international. For without such co-operation, how may wars be averted—in the present, devastating conflicts of the capitalistic nations among themselves; in the future, a vast armageddon of white against coloured, full of fury and terror and woe?

5. This brings us to yet a fifth danger to the peace of the world. Allusion was made above to the invasions, in old times, due to overpopulation, and it was intimated that this might again be a cause of war. The elimination of disease by medical science seems to be removing the most potent restriction on the natural increase of the race. Some time ago, two-thirds of the babies in China were said to die before reaching maturity.¹ But by teaching the Chinese the elements of hygiene, are we not breeding a monster Yellow Peril, that may before very long overrun the civilized world, unless relentlessly kept in check by machine guns and high explosives? Or will the Indians join the Chinese in swamping the white races with a great flood of population?

We may suppose the conflict to begin in the not very distant future with the claim of Orientals to settle in some of the yet sparsely inhabited tracts of the cultivable earth. Might not the teeming millions of Asia appeal, in the name of human justice and compassion, to be allowed to send some of their children out of their native squalor and starvation into the wide and fertile spaces of Australia? The Australians might reply that the race which, by its enterprise and genius, had found this empty land, should keep it to spread itself in; all the more because for many centuries Asiatics had their opportunity to

¹ An even higher estimate used to be given. *Vide* E. A. Ross, *The Century Magazine*, July 1911: "Dr. McCartney, of Changhang, after twenty years of practice, estimates that 85 per cent. of the children born there die before the end of the second year. The returns from Hong-Kong for 1909 show that the number of children dying under one year of age is 85 per cent. of the births within the year."

occupy it. The mingling of Asiatic and European, they might proceed to argue, would not improbably produce a hybrid stock, inferior to either of the progenitors.

Here is a difficult suit for Christian ethics to judge : on the one side the plea of mercy for perishing babes ; on the other side the idealism of advancing civilization. How may the arbitration court of the League of Nations determine such a dispute, or bring home to the party worsted the rightfulness of the judgment ?

The complete solution to this can be attained only when humanity rises to the height whence it can perceive the relative functions of the various parts of itself in the Divine plan of evolution. Meanwhile, it is imperative to explore avenues towards a *modus vivendi*. Professor Gilbert Murray gives us a lead when he writes as follows : " The world is filling up, and sooner or later it will have to be rationed. Meantime, the West is influencing the East with ever-increasing force. . . . Now there is no doubt that the higher Western races have already embarked, in however unsatisfactory a manner, on the task of raising their own standard of life by reducing the birth-rate, and aiming at a limited but well-equipped population. There is no inherent difficulty in supposing that that idea, among others, may be borrowed by the races of the Far East ; and if that is so, our problem will eventually be solved. " ¹ He incidentally gives it as his opinion that the recent trouble in

¹ In the *Hibbert Journal*, January 1927, p. 200, " Coming Problems."

Shanghai was very largely due to the Orientals' envy of the Europeans' higher standard of living.

There is nothing that need offend us in this suggestion, seeing that some form of birth-control appears inevitable, and that the horrors of overcrowding are more easily avoided by the restriction of population through humane methods than by perilous demands for rights to extra-national settlement. Whether God has indeed "determined" for the peoples "their appointed seasons and the bounds of their habitation," it is a safe counsel for them to respect each others' bounds and only to rearrange their habitation by common consent. At the same time, those nations in the more favoured circumstances must guard against the least trace of racial arrogance, and be quick to seize opportunities of sympathetic assistance in the legitimate aspirations of their less advanced fellow-nations. I submit that more can be done by the more civilized helping the less civilized to reform and develop their own national life at home than, at present at least, by providing them with new lands to colonize.

A special responsibility seems to lie on the British Empire to reconcile the divergent tendencies of different nations and races. The fact that the vicissitudes of colonizing rivalries concluded by laying so large a proportion of the unoccupied surface of the globe under the control of Great Britain, puts this nation in a position of stewardship in regard to offering facilities of racial expansion to its former competitors, without necessarily any transference of formal allegiance. To the British Empire has also fallen the

difficult task of conciliating under one government European and Asiatic and African, white men and coloured men, nations educated in Græco-Roman Christendom, in Hinduistic and in Arabic religion and civilization, and in the polymorphous traditions of Central Africa. The wide disparities in custom and mentality, and the supposed dysgenic tendency of intermarriage among these groups, engender problems likely to try severely the cleverest brains and the warmest hearts, yet which, we trust, may yield to Christian wisdom and Christian charity. The comparative closeness of these groups under one system of government will probably make the solution of these problems more urgent. But their solution within the British Empire will facilitate their solution over the whole world.

We look forward to the development of humanity as a self-conscious entity, composed of interdependent parts, all jointly responsible for the fulfilment of the universal destiny. For we pray, not only that wars may cease in all the world, but also for real peace, harmony, and co-operation. And to this alone religion can bring us, such religion, indeed, as proclaims the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of men; above all, a religion of this character personally embodied in an ever-living Representative, one Head with many members.

CHAPTER III

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

I

IN the problem of the bearing of Christianity on politics, the mind flies to Our Lord's encounter with the Pharisees and Herodians when they asked Him whether it were right to pay tribute to Cæsar. His answer conveys no approval of the Imperial Government of Rome, but it does imply disapproval of rebellion, even in the comparatively mild form of tax-resistance. In His advice to the Jews to do two miles of transport for their Roman overlords when one was demanded (Matt. v. 41), He points out the way to deal with oppressive Governments, namely, to soften their severity by willing service. St. Paul follows his Master in counselling obedience and reverence to kings and governors, going so far as to speak of them as the authorized agents of the Almighty : " Every subject must obey the government authorities, for no authority exists apart from God ; the existing authorities have been constituted by God. . . . Pay them all their respective dues, tribute to one, taxes to another, respect to this man, honour to that " (Romans xiii. 1-7—Moffatt). This was written, it should be noted, to the Christian community living in the capital of the Roman Empire. St. Peter regards Governments rather as human institutions, but all

the same enjoins obedience to them: "Submit for the Lord's sake to any human authority; submit to the Emperor as supreme, and to governors as deputed by him for the punishment of wrongdoers and the encouragement of honest people" (1 Peter ii. 13, 14—Moffatt). There must be no rebellion or disobedience in matters not affecting the conscience, but rather loyalty and honour. By these methods might the pagan rulers be conciliated and inclined to receive the Gospel. Righteous and humane government would follow as a matter of course. Surely this holds true to-day. Governments are not always satisfactory, but rebellion is likely to make matters worse. The true Christian is loyal to whatever political organization he finds over him. He may, and should, desire to improve the Government, but it will be by constitutional means. Only when commanded to do what he regards as absolutely wrong, or forbidden to do what he believes to be his duty, will he refuse obedience, as the Early Christians did when ordered to abjure Christ.

Are there any indications in the New Testament as to the sort of polity which Christianity would favour? A case might be made out for various kinds. Monarchy seems to be assumed as normal, if we may judge from the frequent mention of kings and the obligation to honour and obey them. In the Apocalypticist's prevision of the kings of the earth bringing their glory and honour into the new Jerusalem (Rev. xxi. 24), there is implied, not the abolition of monarchies, but their subordination to Divine rule.

An aristocratic system of government seems sug-

gested by Our Lord's description of the disciples sitting on twelve thrones judging—that is, ruling—the twelve tribes of Israel. We must not, however, take this quite literally and seriously. It reads like an imaginative and picturesque and, indeed, playful way of showing confidence in the disciples' future influence in the world. The thought is more soberly expressed in the saying, "I appoint unto you a kingdom as My Father hath appointed unto Me." The designation of Peter as the rock foundation of the Church and keeper of the keys implies eminence, but hardly autocracy.

This leads us to the vitally practical question whether the principles of Christianity favour democracy; for democracy is one of the great forces and factors of the life of mankind to-day. In a sense it is almost wholly modern; for, as Professor R. M. MacIver well observes, "the so-called direct democracies of the ancient city-states were not democracies at all, but egalitarian oligarchies in which a ruling class of citizens shared the right and spoils of political control." Man as man had no voice in the State; important constituents of the communal life, namely, such manual labour as was performed by slaves, and also womanhood, were unrepresented. Hence "there was no solidarity in these States."¹

Nearly a century ago de Tocqueville heralded democracy with mingled astonishment and hope: "The gradual development of the equality of conditions is a providential fact, and it possesses all the characteristics of a Divine decree: it is universal,

¹ *The Modern State*, p. 352.

it is durable, it constantly eludes all human interference, and all events, as well as all men, contribute to its progress." He saw democracy as a mighty movement, fraught with dangers, yet bringing great blessings if well directed: "The Christian nations of our age seem to me to present a most alarming spectacle; the impulse which is bearing them along is so strong that it cannot be stopped, but it is not yet so rapid that it cannot be guided."¹ A recent writer declares that history has fully justified this forecast: "Whether we consider democracy merely as a spirit of society, or as a passion for equality, or as a form of political government, it has gone forward with irresistible power and seems destined to supplant all other forms of government."²

We may find support for democratic equality of rank in Christ's injunction to His disciples to call no man master upon earth, and also in His contrast of the pagan monarchs, who exercise authority and are called Benefactors, with the Christian greatness and eminence that express themselves in humble service. And for the democratic assertion of the essential dignity of every man and his right to freedom and participation in the self-government of the community, we may appeal to the proclamation in the New Testament of the redeemed man's Divine sonship, which in the Fourth Gospel is definitely stated to carry with it both liberty and admittance into Divine counsels: "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free. . . . No longer

¹ *Democracy in America*, translated by H. Reeve, I, pp. 4 and 5.

² *The Irresistible Movement of Democracy*, by J. S. Penman, p. 1.

do I call you servants ; for the servant knoweth not what his lord doeth ; but I have called you friends ; for all things that I have heard from My Father, I have made known unto you." The disciples are promised that when the bodily presence of Jesus is withdrawn, the Spirit of Truth will lead them into all the truth. This knowledge and freedom and consequent responsibility are not to be limited to the Twelve, but necessarily pass to all who become Christ's friends and sons of the Father. Seeing that the Kingdom of Heaven embraces all the affairs of human life, we cannot exclude secular government from the functions of the growing company of the children of God. We must also assert the value of participation in government for the development of the soul. The mental and moral exercise involved contributes to that spiritual growth which is to fit human beings for a still more heavenly life anon. None capable of it can be rightfully debarred from it. It is an essential element of our human heritage, and of the preparation for our Divine destiny. Some words of Dr. Temple, Bishop of Manchester, are worth quoting in this regard : " The root of democracy is respect for individual personality. At this point democracy clearly touches Christianity, which teaches the infinite worth of every individual. Democracy is just one—almost certainly the fullest and best—way of showing respect for the individual in the political constitution. Majority rule is the one device for giving constitutional weight to the judgment of the ordinary man." ¹

¹ Cited in *The New Campaigner*.

“The relation to democracy of the fundamental ideas of the Gospel,” according to Viscount Bryce, is fourfold: (1) “The worth of the individual man is enhanced as a being to whom the Creator has given an immortal soul.” (2) “In that Creator’s sight the souls of all His human creatures are of like worth.” (3) “Supremely valuable is the inner life of the soul in its relation to the Deity.” (4) “It is the duty of all God’s creatures to love one another.” To these four ideas correspond respectively: freedom of conscience; equality of rights; the independence of the individual; a collective life and a merging of the wills of individuals in the will of the community.¹

Democracy is the type of government which most satisfactorily provides for the national functioning of the will of man. For the moral life involves doing good, not only independently, but also in associations of various sizes and kinds. A democratically elected parliament is an instrument of the will of human beings acting together in the association called a State, which commonly represents a nation. It thus has ethical value and conduces to the attainment of good.

As Professor MacIver insists, the State is not to be identified with the community; it is rather an organ of the community, or the community organized for special purposes.² The State does not exhaust the ethical value of the community, since there may be numerous national activities—philanthropic, scientific, artistic—in which the national mind and character

¹ *Modern Democracies*, vol. i, pp. 100, 101.

² *The Modern State*, pp. 467-486.

express themselves. But the State and the parts to which it delegates authority, such as provinces, counties, municipalities, constitute organs for the operation of many human wills in association—chiefly in routine services of generally acknowledged utility in which legal compulsion is desirable. Democracy has the advantage over other types of constitution in facilitating the participation of more individuals in national self-government. For this reason we should welcome the enfranchisement of women. For they, too, as moral personalities, have the right of exercising and developing their nature by this form of corporate moral activity.

But what of existing so-called democracy? What an absurd make-believe, what an outrageous mockery of the democratic ideal! We will tabulate some of the more glaring of its faults.

(1) How can government by the majority be called government by the people? For the will of the more, frequently of the slightly more, overbears the will of the fewer.¹

(2) The representative system does not even secure that the will of the majority prevails. A minority of voters may elect a majority of members of the legislature.² Also a minority of members, if they form more than half of the party in power, may coerce

¹ Rousseau thought that when one party prevails over the rest, there is no general will: "Enfin, quand une de ces associations est si grande qu'elle l'emporte sur toutes les autres, vous n'avez plus pour résultat une somme de petites différences, mais une différence unique. Alors il n'y a plus de volonté générale, et l'avis qui l'emporte n'est qu'un avis particulier."—*Contrat Social*, ii. 3.

² As happened in Great Britain in 1874, 1886, and 1924.

the others of their party to support a policy that they dislike.¹

(3) Important interests in the life of the community, and political opinions with numerous but scattered adherents, may be without representation in the national assembly.

(4) The party-system practically compels members of Parliament to vote for measures with which they are out of sympathy, since not to do so would imperil the continuance of their party in office.

(5) The interests of wealth and wealth-controlling men have undue influence in shaping party programmes ; for they contribute largely to party funds, they control the political opinions of newspapers, they have the power of furthering or impeding Government schemes by means of the banks and other financial agencies.

(6) General elections are very demoralizing. The rivalry between the candidates, encouraging self-praise, captious criticism, prejudice, jealousy, contempt, among both candidates and electors, is undignified, unsocial, and flagrantly unchristian.

(7) The way in which political opinions are formed, as Mr. Graham Wallas has shown in his well-known *Human Nature in Politics*, is not only very irrational, but also determined largely by the follies and faults of mankind. Politicians pander to and palliate these follies and faults in order to pass the laws they think beneficial.

(8) Hence the tendency among politicians to a cynical attitude towards the masses, which serves

¹ *Vide* Viscount Bryce, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 389.

to excuse ambitious scheming for positions of eminence and dignity, and what Walt Whitman called "the never-ending audacity of elected persons."

(9) The higher the ideals of statesmen, the more do they feel drawn to legislate ahead of public opinion, acting rather as benevolent despots than as agents of the national will. This is a less serious drawback than the foregoing, but it almost justifies the remark that democracies are most progressive when they are least democratic.

(10) Lastly, there is what Plato regarded as the chief vice of democracy, excessive liberty: "All things are just ready to burst with liberty. . . . See how sensitive the citizens become; they chafe impatiently at the least touch of authority, and at length, as you know, they cease to care for the laws, written or unwritten; they will have no one over them."¹ In other words, democracy tends to anarchy. This is the opposite danger to that apprehended from socialism, namely, too much discipline and regimentation; nor is it the fault which modern critics of popular government emphasize most. Still, it is true that most people are too ready to accept the benefits afforded by the Government as giving them freedom to live as they like, without considering their obligation to contribute to the national well-being in return.

Seeing, then, that democracy as at present constituted engenders division and discord, is manifestly unfair, and ministers to so many base passions and fosters so many vices, with what conceivable justification can

¹ *The Republic*, § 563, Jowett's translation.

we claim for it any affinity to the religion founded by Christ? It speaks well for human nature that, in spite of these evils and shortcomings, Governments govern as well as they do, and Parliaments pass as good laws as they do, and that the ferocities of elections soon subside, allowing both politicians and electors to treat each other as friends and fellow-countrymen again. It looks as if democratic politics made men worse than they normally are, bringing out the bad rather than the good in them; and that as far as moral progress is concerned, nations would prosper more under some form of autocracy. Or is it perhaps, not democracy, the government of the people by the people, that is degrading, but the system of party government, which accentuates, almost produces, strife and division? In fact, democracy exists only to a very limited extent, the party-system being a non-essential outgrowth.

II

So far as democracy is really democracy, that is, so far as a nation governs itself in matters which the vast majority understands, it may be judged to be on the whole beneficent and righteous, even though its ideals are not very exalted. For there are certain measures which are practically impossible in a democratic land—for instance, a high tax on elementary food-stuffs. However strong a Government in this country might be, it would not try to re-enact the corn-laws, well aware that the mere attempt would bring disaster upon it at the next election. Any

measure which directly interfered with the general comfort and liberty, except for very urgent reasons, as in war, or famine, or grave commercial crisis, is absolutely barred. Democracies seem to hold a moderate attitude to crime: they do not favour savage punishments, yet would insist on the maintenance of order and the repression of offences against life and property. Democracies tend to be anti-militaristic and would probably be disinclined to conscription unless persuaded of danger from foreign Powers. Democracies, though rather conservative and slow-moving, are glad to accept simple alleviations of, and precautions against, poverty and disease, such as old-age pensions, sanitary regulations, free medical treatment for school-children. Even if people are a little suspicious of a few of such reforms when they are first propounded, they soon become used to them and would not be deprived of them. However, in respect of that kind of reform which in the eyes of many is one of the most pressing—namely, temperance legislation—the popular voice is uncertain and divided. Then as regards the provision of less material benefits—education, elementary and technical and liberal—there has been no very general enthusiasm. For parents very reasonably dislike having their big children kept at school and prohibited from earning wages when there is not enough money coming in for the family needs. Besides, people are slow to appreciate so-called “book-learning.” Yet in the more prosperous countries public education is valued, and proposals to abolish or even to reduce it would meet with general disapproval.

Nor can democracy, in this country at least, be

accused of entire disregard of other nations. There would be a popular outcry at any attempt on the part of the Government to establish slavery over savage tribes, and at cruel treatment of them for commercial purposes. And popular protests would be made against unprovoked attacks upon the independence of small States. Indeed, politicians have known how to rouse this righteous indignation of the masses for party ends.

There may be nothing very noble in all this, but it is for the most part good as far as it goes. The evils which we deplore in democracy seem to be manufactured mainly by the machinery whereby judgments are elicited from the people on matters beyond their comprehension. As Mr. Ivor Brown says, "That queer farrago of conflicting traditions, instincts, superstitions, and desires, which constitute public opinion, is not easily rendered articulate."¹ No; for it is not intelligent or consistent, nor does it approximate to unanimity, except on very simple and obvious issues, such as whether it is better to have cheap or dear food, or which is preferable, peace or war. Upon constitutional issues, like the expediency of giving certain provinces their own legislatures, or upon economic issues, like the comparative advantages of free trade and protection, it is only competent to judge when it has had long experience of the results of such schemes. In order to stir up interest in such matters and induce the ordinary voter to think himself capable of forming an opinion about them, the issues are staged as rhetorical combats, with doughty

¹ *The Meaning of Democracy*, p. 61.

champions at the head of rival armies, each side trying to convince the masses of its own statesmanlike wisdom and disinterested zeal for the public good, and to reveal its opponents' folly, with, sad to say, occasional insinuations of their duplicity and self-seeking. It is a diverting show for the multitude, but unedifying and demoralizing.

But party-strife is not democracy, but rather a device for obtaining so-called democratic authority for certain men to hold the reins of government and to pass certain laws. Nor are the opinions so authorized and the laws thus passed necessarily expressions of the mind of the people; for the people has not a mind capable of forming a well-considered judgment on most of these matters. It is rather in the simple and almost universal demands and claims and refusals that we hear the voice of the people. This, though hardly to be identified with the voice of God, appears to be mainly in the right, more in the right, indeed, than the average voice of the individuals who compose the nation, since private egoisms can find small place in the group-mind.

What is to improve and develop the popular mind, the general will, so that democracy may grow in capacity and efficiency? Education is certainly needed. And to those who fear the increasing power of the common people it is well to remark that in Russia, where under the monarchy the greater portion of the population was illiterate, there has been a bloody and devastating revolution. The more the voters understand of the structure of civilization, and the more trained they are in estimating human

character, the less likely they are to be inveigled into consenting to rash and sudden changes. Education should enable people of moderate or even lowly intelligence, if not individually, yet collectively, and supported by those of somewhat superior intelligence and experience, to distinguish between the expert and the charlatan or crank, and so act as a preventive against the wilder forms of political folly.

But education of the intelligence should be accompanied by education of the moral character. That there may be a vigorous democracy, with a strong general will overriding sectional rivalries and discordances, it is necessary for the members of the nation to look beyond their private self-interest. For patriotism and social enthusiasm will weld them together far more speedily and effectively than remote considerations of individual welfare being ultimately dependent on national prosperity. And we may look to Christianity as the source and inspiration of the morality needed for a strong and sympathetic democracy. Christianity should help in reconciling sectional interests, those, for example, of town and country. It should impel the community to provide better for its weaker members and those whose function in the world requires assistance—the infirm, invalids, widows, mothers with several children. Christianity should also raise the ideals of democracy, so that more facilities may be given to general education and the cultivation of the mind in science and art, in order that all may be encouraged to grow as befits children of God. Christianity has also to teach the democracies of the different nations to behave charitably to one

another, abandoning commercial antagonism and national aggrandizement and racial pride, and to co-operate, even at some temporary national loss, for the good of the whole family of God on this planet. So there will arise in time a super-democracy, a general will for the general welfare and progress of the society of nations. All these principles and ideals are not so difficult but that some idea of them may be conceived by quite ordinary men and women even in the more backward races, though in the methods of giving effect to them recourse must be had to the experience and trained skill of the professional politician.

But as we forecast the future of democracy there looms to our gaze a great moral dilemma on its path. Let us attempt to envisage it. The popular will naturally and rightly aims at the improvement of the general conditions of life, among which must be included some degree of material wealth. The people possess theoretical power, limited only by constitutional checks which would soon yield under pressure, to order a great redistribution of wealth by means of heavy taxation of the rich and by instituting sundry endowments for the benefit of the poor. At present the majority which might be favourable to such a scheme lacks the confidence to elect representatives with a clear mandate for carrying it through. There is fear of the consequences, perhaps of such economic disaster as has followed on revolution abroad. But the recent tendency has been in the direction of some such redistribution. Will it continue and gather force? If so, what should be the attitude of Christians towards it?

To be more definite, suppose there arises a great movement for the endowment of motherhood, so as to give families with children a command over the necessities of life approximating to that possessed by workers without dependents. An ethical case might be made out for taking the money required from the superfluous income or capital of the rich, especially those with unearned income, and more especially from those who do no definite work for the community. For, since Christ spoke of the difficulty experienced by the rich in entering the Kingdom of Heaven, it might be deemed the truest kindness to make the way of salvation a little easier for them. This need by no means involve a general levelling, or discouragement of thrift, but merely a fairly severe curtailing or "axeing" of the more excessive expenditure and waste of the national income, in the real interests of both rich and poor. On the other hand, would it be right or wise to deprive people of their legal property against their will, except for very urgent reasons?

This problem seems to be a special form of the wider problem concerning the ethics of the coercion by a community of its recalcitrant members, or more generally still, the right and expediency of compelling people to behave in an outwardly virtuous manner. Now it was Our Lord's method to persuade, to attempt to influence by a variety of appeals both stern and gentle, but not to force. If it be replied that He, as an individual man among men, did not wish to have recourse to violence, we may remark further that persuasion rather than force is God's way. Certainly

extreme wickedness brings its own nemesis, and we judge it necessary to restrain actual criminals ; but the merely selfish and self-indulgent are left by God to find out the error of their ways by long and bitter experience. This seems one lesson of the parable of the Prodigal Son. And to this agrees the doctrine of liberty as expounded by John Stuart Mill : “ that the sole end for which mankind is warranted, individually or collectively, in interfering with the liberty of action of any of its number, is self-protection ; that the only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others. His own good, either physical or moral, is not a sufficient warrant.”¹ As thus stated, the principle is neither quite clear nor convincing ; for all self-injury is ultimately the injury of others, and there are cases in which most would think it right to protect people, especially the very young, from themselves. But the more enlightened opinion of mankind does shrink from indiscriminate compulsion, especially compulsion by the majority of the minority in a community. It conflicts with the democratic principle of free and willing co-operation of all with all. It is likely to retard the growth of that mutual good will and unanimity which is necessary for the most rapid and surest progress. Force is, on the whole, only warranted against flagrant transgressions of generally acknowledged laws or obvious injuries to human welfare, not to compel conformity to new ideals, however clear and radiant they may appear.

¹ *On Liberty.*

Accordingly—to return to the special case of suggested compulsion—to exact more than a moderate contribution from the exceedingly rich, even the idle rich, to provide for the children of the poor, would not, I think, be the wisest, most moral, or even, the most democratic course for attaining the end in view. Not only might severe dislocation of credit and trade be apprehended, aggravating unemployment, but it would be difficult to avoid giving the impression of unfairness in the exactions. Bitterness and resentment would probably be aroused, causing enmities that would last on for many years. There would also be the temptation to proceed to more and more drastic taxation and expropriation so as to reap increased benefits, with the danger of impoverishing vital components of the national life, to the universal loss. On the other hand, if in each stratum of the social structure those without children voluntarily surrender a substantial portion of their income to support families with children, this will be an act of corporate self-sacrifice, especially remarkable on the part of the poorer classes, which would purify and raise the moral tone of the whole community. It would strike at the roots of mammonistic selfishness and prepare the ground for an equitable redistribution of wealth in charity and harmony.

But be all this as it may, it is one of the functions of Christianity to create and develop real democracy, uniting citizen with citizen in a general purpose for ordering the conditions of life for the general good; and to guide and inspire the people from stage to stage, through one problem and difficulty after another,

in the construction of a State not unworthy of a place in the growing Kingdom of God.

III

The vices of democracy we found to belong, not so much to the popular will for self-government, as to the machinery constructed for eliciting opinions and wishes among the people and giving legislative effect to them. The defects of this machinery have prompted various proposals for amending it, some of which we will glance at.

(1) Various reforms of the methods of representation have been advocated, in order that the proportions of parties in Parliament shall more nearly correspond to the proportions of parties in the electorate. Proportional representation, it is generally supposed, could scarcely be attained except by much larger constituencies. "Lord Courtney, in his evidence before the Royal Commission, . . . said that his minimum constituency would be a three-membered one, but he would create a fifteen-membered constituency without hesitation."¹ Objections to this are: first, that it would render elections far more complicated and costly; secondly, that it would diminish the personal relation between the member and his constituents. For, as Mr. Graham Wallas wrote, criticizing this proposal, "the personality of the candidate nominated is at least as important as his party allegiance."² It should, however, be observed that the advocates of propor-

¹ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, "Representation."

² *Human Nature in Politics*, p. 225.

tional representation imply that minorities ought to have some influence in determining the national policy, and do not merely exist to make criticisms in vain and be outvoted ; in other words, that representative government is not so mechanical as it may appear. But how is their influence to be made more proportionate both to their numbers and their wisdom ?

(2) The "second ballot" has been designed to prevent candidates obnoxious to the majority becoming elected owing to the splitting of votes among two or more moderately acceptable candidates.

(3) With a view to giving the people more power of choosing between the various items of a legislative programme and some voice in non-party proposals, methods of direct voting have been advocated, and in some countries—notably in the States of America and in Switzerland—put into practice. By means of the referendum the people vote on bills originating in the legislature ; by means of the initiative they propose measures to the legislature. It has been found that, on the whole, less interest is taken in this direct legislation than in elections. "In Switzerland the proportion of persons voting to the whole number of qualified citizens is, both at referendum and at initiative votings, almost always lower than at elections of representatives to legislatures. In the Confederation it has risen as high as 79 and sunk as low as 34 per cent. In rural cantons it has occasionally sunk to 21 per cent. . . . One may say that the number voting . . . seldom exceeds half the total number of voters. This is true also of the American States, in which, however, the proportion voting is

usually smaller.”¹ On the other hand, Mr. St. Loe Strachey, an ardent advocate of the referendum, points out that “when there is anything important to be decided the voting often exceeds 70 per cent. of the electorate—a most notable fact. For example, in the case of the nationalization of the railways, 76·6 per cent. of the people voted.”²

We may endorse President Lowell’s opinion: “That direct popular action upon laws, when wisely and scientifically applied, will prove highly useful in certain conditions of society, we may well believe without expecting it to usher in the millennium.”³ It is well that the people should have some more or less continuous and discriminative control over the legislation carried through in their name; otherwise the Government would be not so much a democracy as a succession of popularly elected oligarchies. On the other hand, there are limits to direct legislation by the people. For law-making is an intricate business, requiring specialized training; and there is no very apparent reason why the people should trouble to understand it, provided that the Government endeavours to meet its wishes as regards general conditions. Life presents so many important duties, and contains so many absorbing interests (as school-teachers say, the curriculum is already so full), that most have little time or zest to concern themselves with political affairs. Members of Parliament are representatives, not delegates, as Edmund Burke maintained:

¹ Viscount Bryce, *Modern Democracies*, ii, pp. 462, 463.

² *The Referendum*, p. 82.

³ *Public Opinion and Popular Government*, p. 233.

“ Authoritative instructions, mandates issued, which the member is blindly and implicitly to obey, to vote, and to argue for, though contrary to the clearest convictions of his judgment and conscience, these are things utterly unknown to the laws of this land and which arise from a fundamental mistake of the whole order and tenor of our constitution.”¹ Representatives exist to take the trouble of framing laws out of the hands of the people ; yet it is right that the people should be able to choose and reject and suggest.

Meanwhile democratic government has been developing itself unofficially ; in particular, by the tendency to have recourse to deputations and signed petitions. These are used to convey to members of the legislature or to Ministers of State the views of sections of the population on matters in which they are specially concerned and with which Parliament or the executive is competent to deal. Teachers send deputations and petitions on some affair of national education ; medical men on some affair of national health ; trade unions on matters touching particular trades and occupations. Deputations and petitions constitute a very important modification of democratic government ; for they help to compensate for the extreme rigidity of the electoral machinery, providing more vital contact between the people and their representatives in respect of special organs, aspects, and functions of the national life. A notable petition in recent years was that in support of the Daylight Saving Bill. But the fact that it was signed by such a large number of people,

¹ Quoted in *The Meaning of Democracy*, by Ivor Brown, p. 76.

representing a vast variety of interests, made it a sort of informal referendum or initiative.

But however much we may commend any or all of these reforms, actual or proposed, can we say that they reach the root of the evil? Are they not as patches of new cloth on the old garment of party politics? The use of parties is said to be educational for the masses. The party system is defended as a method of making those who would otherwise be indifferent to politics aware of, and interested in, national problems. Thus President Lowell calls them "agencies whereby public attention is brought to a focus on certain questions that must be decided."¹ Viscount Bryce writes of them as "keeping a nation's mind alive."² While admitting that they have some value in this respect, we may yet think it wrong that electors should have to choose between one party and another; that members of the legislature should be expected to support their party, right or wrong; and that the executive should be the organ only of the party in the majority, and be obliged to resign if that party is outvoted in the assembly. For all this obviously makes for insincerity, jealous rivalry, malice, and inferior government.

Without venturing to sketch any amendment of the constitution in this regard, we may yet try from the Christian standpoint to show how these evils may be mitigated. In the first place, party strife should, as far as practicable, be kept out of elections and confined to Parliament itself. Parties there

¹ *Public Opinion and Popular Government*, p. 66.

² *Modern Democracies*, i, p. 44.

must be, since it is right that men should think freely and combine with those who think with them to criticize those who think freely in other ways. But the disputes of representatives in the legislature should be concerned rather with alternative methods for carrying out the popular will, and the temptation should be resisted to gain support for one or other of those alternatives by appeals to the voters. This is somewhat as if two surgeons, disagreeing as to the kind of operation needed, asked the patient for his opinion. Secondly, every member, to whatever party he belongs, should regard himself as representative of all his constituents, both of those who agree and of those who disagree with him, trying to meet their wishes in some way or other, and making himself personally known to all as a friend in charge of their interests. Thirdly, the executive ministry should endeavour to extract the truth and good out of the different parties, conciliating their rival aims in the comprehensive wisdom of its determinations.

Viscount Bryce has observed that "an administration formed by a coalition of parties is usually weak . . . because men whose professed principles differ are likely to be entangled in inconsistencies or driven to unsatisfactory compromises."¹ But unity and effectiveness are not to be attained by the repression of opinions and the ignoring of differences, but rather by their independent development and subsequent synthesis. As agencies for the exploration and discussion and testing of methods of forwarding the nation's welfare, political parties will have their

¹ *Modern Democracies*, i. 137.

place in between the expression of the popular will and the carrying out of this will by the executive. Meanwhile, if parties multiply in Great Britain as they have in other countries, some alteration in the customs of Parliamentary government will probably be required.

But shall we continue to need so many laws, so many constitutional changes, so many new schemes of social welfare? The present political agitations are connected with rapid changes in various departments of civilization—scientific, industrial, ethical, religious. The pace seems too hot to last. Mankind will surely in course of time settle down to tranquil progress and evolution. There will still be government, but no longer violent political fluctuations; only the steady maintenance of the fabric of society with occasional readjustments. Yet such political harmony, such national and international stability, such subordination of the machinery of government to the richly evolving life of man, cannot come into being unless the community be permeated and transmuted by purer and profounder morality, that morality which Christ is ever at hand to teach.

CHAPTER IV

CHARITY AND SERVICE

GIVING to the poor was among the most prominent of the virtues inculcated by the Hebrew religion, as numerous passages in the Old Testament make evident, for instance: "He hath dispersed, he hath given to the needy" (Ps. cxii. 9). "He hath given his bread to the hungry and hath covered the naked with a garment" (Ezekiel xviii. 16). "Is not this the fast that I have chosen . . . to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out to thy house? When thou seest the naked, that thou cover him?" (Isaiah lviii. 6, 7). Our Lord adopts this traditional element in the prophetic teaching of His nation and gives it extraordinary emphasis. He even makes the one ground of judgment for the "nations," if we may trust the record, whether they have, or have not, fed the hungry, given drink to the thirsty, clothed the naked, visited sick people and prisoners. Again, He bade the rich young ruler sell his possessions and give to the poor, as a condition of discipleship. He also approved of the determination of Zaccheus to give half of his goods to the poor. He even seems to have enjoined generosity to all and sundry, in the words: "Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn thou not away."

Probably, owing to the enormously increased mobility

of the population and the vast agglomerations of industrial workers, indiscriminate giving is much more demoralizing now than it was in Palestine in those days. As Mrs. Helen Bosanquet well says: "In a small community, where begging is only an appeal from one neighbour to another, the arrangement may serve well enough; but it leads to intolerable evils, both of fraud and neglected suffering, where it prevails in larger communities."¹ But even then, one would suppose, soft-hearted yielding to the appeals of poverty might encourage men to beg rather than to work. May we, without irreverence, suggest that Our Lord took over the stock-in-trade, so to speak, of Hebrew prophecy, while yet aware of the need of practical common sense in its interpretation and application? For He did manifest an attitude of severity towards idlers and slackers; for instance, in the parables of the Talents and the Pounds, and in His comparison of the service of God to the service of man to man, both alike having to be performed conscientiously and disinterestedly (Luke xvii. 10). If indolence in God's service—in the advance of God's Kingdom and the preparation of people for it—is to be severely visited, should it not be, to say the least, discouraged in the ordinary labour of mankind, which, truly understood, is also work for others enjoined by God? It is not likely that Our Lord would have demurred to St. Paul's dictum, "If a man will not work, neither let him eat"; which is indeed the obverse of His own saying, "The labourer is worthy of his hire." We surely,

¹ *The Poor Law Report of 1909*, p. 2.

then, may claim His approval for the careful charity which refuses to give in ways likely to injure the character of the recipient.

Yet we must admit there is little evidence in the history of the Early Church that Christians did exercise caution and discrimination in their charity. Such passages as the following, from Early Christian writers, point to the opposite :

(1) From *The Shepherd of Hermas* : " Do good, and of all your toil which God gives you, give in simplicity to all who need, not doubting to whom you shall give, and to whom not. Give to all, for to all God wishes gifts to be made of His own bounties " (Mandate ii. 4).

(2) From *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* : " Give to everyone that asks thee, and do not refuse ; for the Father's will is that we give to all from the gifts we have received " (ii. 5).¹

Charity is apt to demoralize, through encouraging lying, idleness, drunkenness, extravagance, and because it discourages the strength of character developed by difficulties. The appalling poverty of the early nineteenth century, due to the industrial revolution and the Napoleonic wars, resulted in a lax administration of the Poor Law, which seemed to increase pauperism and to threaten economic and moral ruin. This was brought to an end in 1834 by a new system which relied very much on deterrence to compel industry and thrift. The difficulty was to avoid pauperization and demoralization on the one hand, and the cruelty of leaving the destitute to suffer and

¹ Translation by Kirsopp Lake.

die in their misery on the other. Compassion continued to draw money from the pockets of the wealthy, with dubious benefit to the character of the recipients. But emphasis was laid too much on the evil of indiscriminate giving, and too little on the good of wisely and sympathetically applied charity.

The reaction of this disparagement of charity upon the character of the wealthier sorts of people has been definitely bad. For the insistence on the frequent demoralization due to giving has encouraged the comfortable belief that the best thing that a rich man can do with his money is to spend it on himself and his family. To this we may attribute very largely the shameful callousness of ostensibly humane and Christian people in the face of the actual starvation of many thousands of hard-working people and their families in the disorganization following upon the European War. One eminent man, known to the writer, declared his opinion that nearly all national welfare schemes did more harm than good, because they weakened character by diminishing the incentives to thrift and enterprise and hard work. By making life easier, it was meant, through insurance against illness, widows' pensions, and the like, the State softens the impact between individuals and their environment, with the result that they are tempted to remain morally weak and characterless.

This opinion, however much one may dissent from it, deserves an answer. For the detrimental tendency of paternal, or so-called "grandmotherly," government in undermining independence and determination is not to be ignored. Yet it may be rejoined

that merely to leave people in their squalor and destitution, to struggle out of it as best they can, the stronger trampling on the weak in the process, would put a premium on aggressiveness and pitilessness and crafty self-seeking, and furthermore engender savage anarchy and revolution, with the fiendish accompaniments of class-war such as we have read of elsewhere. Almost any degree of moral enervation would be preferable to that. And yet real charity would tend to strengthen and improve character, by fostering, not so much the disposition of individualistic self-interest, as the sense of obligation to serve both other individuals and the common weal of nation and mankind.

There is need, not of less giving, but of more ; far more in the form of help in straightening out the affairs of those who have got themselves into difficulties, far more in sympathetic counsel, and in consoling and encouraging friendship ; more also in actual material aid. For all the money spent in gifts to beggars, doles from endowed charities, indoor and outdoor poor-relief, and so on, would not suffice fully to finance the restorative and educative help that the unfortunate victims of a materialistic civilization and their own misdoing require for their complete social salvation.

The characteristics of the true saving charity which a Christian society is morally bound to provide may be tabulated as follows :

(1) Charity must have its public and official foundation. It is not practicable to dispense with all State or municipal relief of destitution. A brief mention

of the famous Poor Law Reports of 1909 is all that is practicable here. The Majority Report may be studied in *The Poor Law Report of 1909*, by Mrs. Helen Bosanquet, the Minority Report in *The Prevention of Destitution*, by Sidney and Beatrice Webb; while an excellent comparison of the two is to be found in *By What Authority?* by Professor J. H. Muirhead. The strength of the Majority Report consists largely in its continuity with past methods, although it contains a definite repudiation of the mere deterrence of the 1834 Commission, and in its insistence on the need for a general public authority for dealing with destitution. It represents, on the whole, the best in the mind of the Charity Organization Society, which was inspired by the genius of Dr. Loch. The strength of the Minority Report lies rather in "its policy of what might be called aggressive prevention and restoration,"¹ tracking down the causes of distress and degradation to their various sources through the agency of different public institutions.

(2) Unofficial and so-called "voluntary" charity should have its place alongside the official Poor Law. The ideal relationship between the two seems to be well described, or rather indicated, in these words of Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb: "The voluntary agencies, with their perpetual seeking after new methods of treatment, with their loving care of difficult cases, with their varied religious influences, must be deliberately made use of in the public service, to be constantly raising the standard of civilized conduct and physical health above the comparatively

¹ J. H. Muirhead, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

low standard which alone can be enforced by the public authority. Here we have a conception . . . of an 'extension ladder' placed firmly on the foundation of an enforced minimum standard of life, but carrying onward the work of the public authorities to far finer shades of physical, moral, and spiritual perfection." ¹

(3) We cannot avoid the exercise of severity towards the indolent and dissolute. But this should take the form, not so much of leaving them to be schooled by the experience of want, since they are likely to cadge or steal enough to avoid extreme hunger and cold, and certainly we cannot allow their dependents to perish; but rather of forcible coercion. Both the Poor Law Reports advocate places of detention, where the able-bodied will be compelled to work. As Mrs. Bosanquet writes: "The Commission contemplate that the public assistance authorities would . . . provide institutions. . . . Some would be of the nature of labour colonies, or farm colonies, where test-work and training could be given; others would be country workhouses, where under discipline and healthy conditions, the 'unemployable' might regain strength and character. And in the background, for the wilfully lazy and refractory would be the detention colony, to which cases would be committed for periods varying from six months to three years." ²

(4) We must prevent destitution by attacking its sources. Mr. and Mrs. Webb attribute the plight of the squalid masses of human wretchedness still to

¹ *The Prevention of Destitution*, p. 252.

² *The Poor Law Report of 1909*, p. 137.

be found in our great towns to a variety of causes, and attempt to show how these various streams of malign influence are to be checked. Thus in the above-mentioned book we have chapters with these headings: "How to Prevent the Destitution that Arises from Sickness"; "How to Prevent the Destitution Arising from Child Neglect"; "How to Prevent Unemployment and Under-employment." It is evident that we must not wait for distress to become acute before we help, but must alter the conditions which tend to produce it. This will involve no little interference with the personal habits of some people and intrusion into the privacies of some homes. But the extent to which this interference and intrusion are likely to be resented depends upon the manner in which they are conducted. Some forcible correction there will have to be, as in the case of drunken and neglectful parents; but more can be effected by friendly advice and instruction.

(5) Charity must be personal, involving intimate and sympathetic dealings of one human being with another. This is why the rich can by themselves do so little. Not only are they unable to know intimately all the poor they are financially able to help, but their very wealth is a barrier to that companionship and self-denial which work wonders. The widow's farthing is thus sometimes able to accomplish more than the rich man's abundance, simply because it means so much more in self-sacrifice and therefore evokes more gratitude. But the money of the wealthy is needed to enable others to give the aid in personal contact. The heart of those in want may be touched

by the manifest trouble which social workers—paid or unpaid—take in using the money supplied either through taxation or through voluntary contributions. They are often able to appreciate the conscientious and painstaking efforts and the kindly feelings which the actual administrators of charitable aid evince in the performance of their duties.

(6) Charity should be a potent agency in moral improvement, and this in a variety of ways. It can be so applied as to evoke shame for the indolence or dissipation which has rendered the charity necessary, and so lead to a resolution to amendment. It can be directed towards producing a proper self-respect in the recipient, as of one who is worth helping and who should henceforth show himself deserving of the help. It should call forth gratitude and the desire to reciprocate benefits, if not to the giver, yet to others, as Christ indeed taught when He said, "Give, and it shall be given unto you." It is sometimes advisable that the recipients of benefits should be obliged, or at least encouraged, to pay part of the cost of what they receive (for instance, hospital treatment, holidays for their children, better housing), because this stimulates the sense of capacity and points to the time when they themselves will be givers as well as receivers. Above all, they should be told, whenever this seems at all applicable, that they are expected to make returns in diligent service to the community, this being essential to the dignity of their status as human beings. Might not even the aged and the dying be given the hope that they will have the glory of service in another life?

(7) The charity by which we help should be based upon religion and lead up to religion. Because we are all children of the One God, brethren of the Son of God, and destined to heavenly life with God, therefore we help one another in pity and hope. If that thought be in the back of the mind of the givers, if not expressed in so many words, the assistance will be accompanied by a subtle but potent influence that will vastly enhance its saving efficacy. The tone of the voice, the look in the eyes, the manner of address, which are inspired by this religious belief, will charm and draw mysteriously, and be the means whereby God is able to renew the heart of many a broken-down creature, restoring the hope and resolution that misfortune and degradation seemed to have quenched.

In spite of the harm wrought by careless and hasty distribution of money, the rich and well-to-do should give far more than they do. Especially when money accumulates by inheritance on childless men and women, owing to the dying-out of old-established families, it constitutes a most serious moral danger for them, unless they are roused into a realization of their stewardship with regard to it. It would not be too much for the Church to ask that a tenth of the income at least should be given in some form of charity by the wealthier members of the community, and a larger fraction by those who have but small families or social obligations. But to what organizations and for what objects in particular? If people gave so liberally, would not hospitals and missions soon have more than they knew what to do with? Would there not be a danger of pauperizing the people whom it

was intended to benefit? I suggest that one valuable development of charity would be a vast extension of holidays for children on the lines of the Children's Country Holiday Fund, camps for Scouts and Guides, and the like. We might well aim at the provision of annual holidays away from home, of a month's duration, for all children and boys and girls till they begin to be self-supporting. How our own children enjoy getting away from the streets, into the country or to the sea or among the mountains and lakes, or from the little village into fresh surroundings of interest and beauty! All children should have that experience. One use to which many of the costly mansions in various parts of the land might be put is to turn them into holiday homes for the children of the great towns. These great houses with their spacious parks, often a financial burden on their owners, some of them only occupied for a few months in the year, would make excellent hostelries and camping-grounds for throngs of happy youngsters, shouting and romping through the big halls and over the lawns and gardens and parks and in the adjacent meadows and woods. What delight, what increase of healthful vigour, would these dignified old residences be the means of providing! And then there would be big houses along our sea-coast, purchased or specially built, some perhaps expensive hotels transformed, for the same nationally and humanly vital and glorious purpose.

This particular kind of charity would be commendable in various ways. For it would hardly conduce to indolence or extravagance in the parents.

It would be preventive of destitution and incapacity, by promoting health and vigour. It would produce good moral effects, by reason of the discipline, the fellowship, and the gratitude and respect that the children would be encouraged to feel towards the donors and superintendents of their happiness. It would be natural to associate these holiday camps with the principle of mutual help and the faith in the Heavenly Father revealed in Christ.

II

We may say broadly that charity is not only innocuous, but morally beneficial, if and in so far as it encourages the motive of service ; or, more briefly, giving is good or bad, as it inclines the recipient to give, or not to give. If giving encourages the recipient to do less for himself or others, it is so far bad, though possibly preferable to leaving him to die by blank refusal. The problem is how to give that the recipient may not only be more able, but more eager, to give in return ; not necessarily to the donor, or in the form of charity, but chiefly to the community in the form of services. This leads us to the question how the motive of service is to be developed generally, seeing that Our Lord intimated that in the new civilization of the Kingdom of God greatness would consist in service.

Society is so constituted that its members do contribute to the welfare of one another from self-interested motives. For they work in order to get money with which to provide for their own needs. The work

benefits others because others use the product. But the worker may care little or nothing about the value of the product to others, but only about the goods which he can purchase with the money paid him for the product. Provided he gets his wages or the price of what he produces, he may be wellnigh indifferent as to whether his work serves a real or imaginary need.

The competitive economic system which gets work out of self-interested men does keep things going. For it enables people to live, and a considerable proportion of them to live fairly well, from a materialistic standpoint. But it is obviously bad morally that men should thus work mainly from self-interested motives, and therefore inevitably come to regard one another as rivals and even as enemies in a sort of *bellum omnium contra omnes* in competition for the largest possible share of the total product. All this renders charity difficult and dangerous, since if a man only cares about himself, he will be tempted to scheme to get his living by begging rather than by working. It also leads to excessive disparities of wealth and to irregular and deficient output.

To elaborate this latter point—the self-regarding motives, including the acquisitive instinct, are not always strong enough to produce an output sufficient for the wants of the community. For instance, shortly after the armistice which concluded the European War, it was found that a rise in piece-work wages among coal-miners was sometimes followed by a diminution in the amount of coal obtained. Trade unions have offered resistance to proposals for

pay by piece-work which would allow the workers to earn considerably more. This may be in part due to the policy of limiting production so as to spread employment—a well-meaning, though economically fallacious, device. But the phenomenon of going slow is too widespread to be accounted for altogether in this way. In the United States of America, where the acquisitive instinct is apparently stronger and the standard of living higher, the rate of production has of late years greatly increased. But it is fairly obvious that mere self-interest is not universally strong enough to get from men all the work that the community requires. We need to awaken some form of social interest, if men are to serve society adequately.

But we must not paint the “economic man” quite black. Normal human nature contains a strong parental instinct. However little men may care about the utility of their labour, most of them are deeply concerned to provide the necessities and comforts of life for wife and children, or perhaps for aged parents or young brothers and sisters. Family ties provide an outlet and stimulus to the altruistic instincts in work for others. Besides this, as a matter of fact, most men do take some pride, as we say, in their work, and like to think they are producing something useful and good of its kind. How is this germinal desire to serve the community to be developed?

One of the great obstacles to its development is the selfish extravagance of those who have more than enough for themselves. It is unreasonable to expect a man to be enthusiastic about producing commodities which will minister to luxury and indo-

lence, or if they be very unfairly distributed. If the worker is acutely conscious of the futilities and perversities of modern civilization, he may occasionally wonder whether the life to which he is ministering is worth his toil. Certainly a truly Christian spirit may overcome such hesitation, so that he may regard himself as labouring for the better humanity that shall be. In some forms of work, for instance, a doctor's, or a nurse's, or a teacher's, in which human need and benefit are apparent and appealing, we do find the motive of service strong and effective. But we must not expect the full development of it in all work, so long as society remains in such a chaotic condition from the base uses to which wealth is applied.

Yet much could be done by those who are in authority to give moral instruction, if they put it to the young as a momentous moral duty to choose that work or career in which they think they will do most good. It should be made plain that here lies a fine opportunity for the exercise of Christian virtue, so that boys and girls may prefer a less pleasant and less remunerative occupation, because in it they can better serve the needs of mankind, to another of a pleasanter and more remunerative sort. For the harder but nobler choice involves unselfishness and self-sacrifice, and perhaps humility, and courage both physical and moral.

The issue is more complicated and more poignant when a man has a family to support and he has to make a similar choice. What if he be unemployed and has the offer of work which he believes to minister

to vice or to be dishonest? Or let us suppose that he suddenly awakens to the iniquity of the business in which he is employed. Which is worse, that his wife and children should be plunged in want and misery, or that he should, for instance, be a clerk in a firm of betting touts or a consulting chemist in the manufacture of fraudulent medicines? It is impossible to give rules for determining all such hard cases beforehand. Human losses and benefits must be weighed against one another. Much depends on the consent of the members of his family in sharing the self-sacrifice. The difficulty and painfulness of these dilemmas in middle life should warn the young to choose carefully their occupation while they may do so with relative independence.

Then there is unpaid service. Scattered about the land are to be found both men and women, but more women than men, who are living on income which they are not earning, having either earned it in the past or having inherited it, and are under no legal obligation to perform any services to the community. But have they no moral obligation to do so? Whatever may be thought of the justice or injustice of "unearned income," it has the merit of providing social workers for tasks to which no salary is attached. And to leisured people with private means we may add the wives of men wealthy enough to pay others to do their domestic labour. Various charitable and educational organizations depend largely on the voluntary services of those to whom the luck of the world has given both a competence and leisure. Should we not apply to those who have these, and have

bodily and mental capacity for work, the dictum of St. Paul: "If a man will not work, neither should he eat"? Would it be too much to suggest that these should regard themselves as morally bound to "give a fair day's work for a fair day's wage," and that they devote to their self-imposed tasks as much time and strength, if their health permits, as is required of those who receive a regular wage or a salary for a specified number of hours or a specified amount of product? Might we not add that these privileged and responsible people, instead of settling down to live where it pleases them most, should take up their abode where they can best do the work which most requires doing, where indeed the human needs are most urgent and human possibilities are greatest? The unpaid work of the world is too valuable and important to be scamped or done chaotically. One of its values consists in the example which it affords of disinterested service. The existence of voluntary workers doing their business conscientiously should stimulate the spirit of service among the paid workers of the world.

But while we stress the sacred obligation of unremunerated social services, we should allow much latitude and freedom in choice of the kind of service. Not only clubs, charities, popular education, and recreation, and the like, but also special studies of a literary or a scientific nature may need their disinterested and devoted workers. A wise toleration should be observed in criticizing the use which people make of their free time and their wealth. Provided that there be a genuine will to serve to the best of the individual's

ability, we may usually leave the manner of service to his or her judgment and conscience.

That industry, and work generally, should be performed as service is essential to the transformation of society requisite to the Kingdom of God. That service is natural to human nature we may gather from various signs. It has been sadly discouraged by the cynical tone of political and economic teaching and by the perverse arrangements of society. It may be encouraged by education and religion and the examples of men and women in every walk of life. Not until the disposition of disinterested service is much more developed and exercised will there be social harmony and orderly progress in all the affairs of mankind.

CHAPTER V

THE TREATMENT OF CRIMES AND VICES

It seems natural to punish those who do us harm. Dr. J. A. MacCulloch gives the following psychological account of punishment: "The act of revenge is one strictly of self-defence, and is primarily a reflex action. It seeks to destroy or render powerless what constitutes a menace, but it contains a rough notion of justice, of the idea that no one can intrude upon the rights of another without suffering the consequences."¹ In these words are indicated the instinctive and the purposive and the moral nature of punishment. Human society, from the dawn of history, has punished those who have injured the common welfare. It has done socially what is natural to individuals to do individually, namely, to defend itself by means of retaliation. And this retaliation has been based on a more or less rudimentary idea of right and wrong, according to which it has been accounted wrong for one person to injure another, and right for the other to hurt him if he does so, or for a third party to hurt the offender in the injured man's behalf. Societies have by means of punishment endeavoured to protect themselves and their individual members from the attacks both of their own members and of foreigners.

When ordinary punishments have proved ineffec-

¹ *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, "Crimes and Punishments (Primitive)."

tive, authorities in anger have had recourse to terrible and cruel methods of castigating wrong-doing. Thucydides records this tendency in the speech of Diodotus, made to save the Lesbians from the wholesale execution with which the Athenians were about to punish their revolt: "Men have gone through the whole catalogue of penalties in the hope that, by increasing their severity, they may suffer less at the hands of evildoers. In early ages the punishments, even of the worst offences, would naturally be mild; but as time went on and mankind continued to transgress, they seldom stop short of death. And still there are transgressors. Some greater terror then has to be discovered; certainly death is no deterrent."¹

But not even by torture has it been found possible to eradicate crime. In morbid states of mind the instincts are uncontrollable by remote terrors. The gratification of the moment, whether of appetite or revenge, seems to outweigh the utmost pain that the law can inflict, and the urgency of the desire fosters a belief that the act cannot be discovered. Nay, more, excessive punishments actually incite to crimes of retaliation.²

Besides, terrible punishments are brutalizing to those who have the business of inflicting them, to the judge who orders them, and to the community which sanctions them. The tendency for some centuries has been, with sundry set-backs, to reduce punishments, liberty and humanity going together as Montesquieu

¹ *Thucydides*, iii. 45, Jowett's translation.

² Rev. W. D. Morrison, *Humane Science Lectures*, p. 87: "If the penal laws of the past teach us anything, they teach us that crime cannot be put down by mere severity."

observed: "Il serait aisé de prouver que, dans tous les États d'Europe, les peines ont diminué ou augmenté à mesure qu'on s'est plus approché ou plus éloigné de la liberté."¹ In particular, punishments involving permanent bodily injury and visible indignity, such as mutilation, branding, the stocks, and the pillory, have been condemned as barbarous. Even flogging is little used now, being regarded as somehow degrading for morally developed human beings. The pain of a beating may be less intense than that of a broken limb or of some diseases—in any case, it does not last as long; but in most civilized opinion of Christendom it would be accounted more dreadful, at least for adult men and women. For to flog is virtually to treat as sub-moral, almost as sub-human, and is therefore for ordinary people insulting and needlessly humiliating, and tends to provoke sullen and violent resentment.

Imprisonment was originally rather a method of retaining for punishment or trial than a punishment in itself.² But it has become in course of time the staple legal method of correction. Formerly the prisoners were herded together, usually in horrible conditions, as John Howard and Elizabeth Fry discovered. Then came the introduction, by slow stages, of solitary confinement. This seems to have had a monastic origin, as Mr. G. A. Ives records: "Pope Clement XI, as early as 1703, erected the prison of San Michele on cellular principles, causing the follow-

¹ *Esprit de Lois*, vi. 9.

² *Vide* Charles Guthrie, in *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, "Prisons." He quotes a mediæval writer: "Carcer ad continendos et non ad puniendos haberi debet."

ing inscription to be placed over its door: 'Parum est coercere improbos poena, nisi probos efficias disciplina.' The idea was subsequently taken up in Milan, where a prison was built upon the San Michele model; and it has been claimed that the experiments which were tried in Belgium, at the Ghent Maison de Force, and spread thence over the United States, owed their initial inspiration to the prison begun at Rome." John Howard was attracted by this method, and "under his advice and direction the Duke of Richmond built a 'separate' gaol at Horsham, Sussex, in 1776."¹

The "separate system," as solitary confinement was called, was hailed almost as a panacea for crime. A certain Sir T. Fowell Buxton lauds it thus: "While it consults the health and suitable accommodation of the prisoner, it strikes at the roots of his criminality, his ignorance, idleness, and debauchery; while it corrects his habits, it subdues his temper. By friendly admonitions and religious instruction, it awakens a consciousness of his former depravities, and of its present and eternal consequences: it shows to him the value of a fair and reputable character, and encourages him in its pursuit, by proving that it is attainable even by him: it makes reformation possible. Thus, by giving a sense of religion, habits of industry, and temperance, its tendency is to prevent misery and vice."²

Similarly one Captain Maconochie: "Solitary con-

¹ *A History of Penal Methods*, p. 173.

² Quoted in *Prison Discipline*, by Rev. J. Field, p. 114, published 1846.

finement . . . throws the mind of the criminal back upon itself. It forces him to think who never thought before. It removes all objects which can stimulate the evil passions of his nature. It restores the prisoner to society, if not a wiser and a better man, at least undegraded by a course of servile submission."¹

This plan of a forced penitentiary retreat, in which the criminal was to meditate on his evil deeds and occasionally receive moral and religious assistance from the prison chaplain and others, had a certain justification in theory. For imprisonment should be reformatory, inducing repentance by the exclusion of bad influences from the criminal and the direction of good influences upon him.² But—apart from particular abuses and exceptional harshness—solitary confinement has proved to be destructive of mental and moral balance, especially for the more sensitive and imaginative. Its advocates overlooked the fact that, though external bad influences might be shut out, the bad tendencies of the prisoner's own soul were shut in with him, along with all his natural propensities, to rage and flame fiercely in the narrow compass of his consciousness, torturing and maddening. It is one thing for people of strong character and deep religious capacity to isolate themselves voluntarily, so as to cultivate spiritual faculties; it is quite another thing to force the morally morbid

¹ *Prison Discipline*, p. 193.

² Oliver Goldsmith in *The Vicar of Wakefield*, chap. xxvii, says that the law should be directed "rather to reformation than severity." He wishes to see prisons "as in other parts of Europe, places of penitence and solitude," having evidently been influenced by John Howard. The intentions of these prison reformers were good; they failed through lack of psychological insight.

and unstable into a solitude which they loathe. No wonder the victims emerged unnerved, broken-down, insane. No wonder at the numerous suicides or attempted suicides in the little silent cells.¹

The writer, being chaplain in a local prison from 1920 to 1924, saw great changes in the official treatment of the inmates. The periods of seclusion in the cells were reduced, more time being spent working in "association"; the rules of silence were relaxed; lecturers and musicians were introduced for occasional hours; educational classes were inaugurated under voluntary teachers; special "visitors" were appointed, each visitor taking charge of a few prisoners whom he would visit from time to time in their cells, to talk over with them their troubles and to discuss methods for their restoration. Of late years, also, much more care and trouble has been taken to find employment for ex-prisoners. Every prison has, or should have, a D.P.A. (Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society) attached to it, which works in connection with other agencies for this purpose. In the words of a Prison Commissioner, a D.P.A. exists to welcome prisoners back into society.

All this is surely in the right direction, in spite of the criticism that prison life is being made too soft. Yet we ought not to rest content. The prisoners return to prison, and that for various reasons. First, it is not easy for them to find employment, when so many thousands of capable and honest men are out

¹ A. G. F. Griffiths, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, "Prison": "Solitary confinement has neither conquered nor appreciably diminished crime. . . . The treatment, long continued, has proved injurious to health, inducing mental break-down."

of a job ; and their workless condition, partly through want and partly through idleness, prompts to fresh crime. Again, if they do find employment, or it has been found for them, it sometimes happens that their fellow-workmen get to know of their past and object to work with ex-prisoners, at least with ex-convicts. Or perhaps the man lives in constant apprehension of discovery and arouses suspicion by his furtive demeanour. But more often, I think, it is the ex-criminal's own faulty character which is his undoing. Many men in prison declare themselves firmly resolved not to offend again, apparently confident in their own ability to "keep straight." But they overestimate their moral strength and underestimate the subtle power of their perverted or undisciplined propensities. The craving for intoxication, the lure of the racecourse, the itching fingers of kleptomania, sensuality, and the unendurable distaste for the monotony of constant work, eight hours a day and day after day, in those who have never had their primitive wildness broken in to the civilized necessity of toil—these bring some wretched creatures back to the police-court and the gaol again and again. What are we to do to people of such morbid and unstable and dangerous character ?

Imprisonment has its uses. At least, it diminishes the time during which moral perverts can do harm to their neighbours. It also, I think, acts as a deterrent, if only because of the disgrace attached to it. It often serves to check young persons before the moral decline has gone very far, and by keeping them for a while from evil indulgences and inducing them

to reflect and pull themselves together, sends them forth into the world cleansed and braced. But this salutary effect diminishes with repetition. Men become habitual criminals, gaol-birds, spending the greater part of their adult life within prison walls.

As the causes of recidivism are various, so must the remedies be. The after-care system needs to be much developed. There should be more individuals and little societies up and down the land who undertake to keep in touch with the men and women who have served sentences and to help them in difficulties and temptations. No easy task, indeed, especially when trade is slack. Suppose that the ex-prisoner is dismissed for indolence, is the after-care committee to support him in idleness or artificially to make work for him? Yet much can be done in friendliness for those who really do mean and try to live honestly and blamelessly.

One criticism that has been levelled against our penal system is that it is applied with so little variation to many different kinds of moral malady, as if hospitals provided only one kind of treatment for many different diseases.¹ Of course, it might be replied that as the same type of bed is used for different kinds of patients, so is the same type of cell used for different kinds of offenders, but that the doctor and the chaplain vary their treatment according to the malady, whether physical or moral. Ideally this is so, but the reformatory treatment should be made much more scientific and differentiated. The art of mental therapeutics promises much. Complexes, perverted instincts, moral

¹ G. A. Ives, *op. cit.*, p. 371.

impotencies are prolific sources of crime and vice. They are not to be removed by a few weeks or months or even years of compulsory isolation, pleasant or unpleasant, even when coupled with moral and religious exhortation. But they may yield to mental operations by means of psycho-analysis which will open up what we may call psychic abscesses, and to the patient redirection of instinctive propensities and the development by appropriate exercises of those factors of the personality which are unduly weak. It looks as if one department of the prison system should consist of a hospital for mental diseases, from which the patients should be discharged as soon as they appear fit and safe to go about, but liable to be sent back for further treatment. Surgery would also have its part to perform. But in very serious cases, such as those of homicidal or sexual assault, liberty should not be restored until the cure is practically certain. For we cannot allow innocent people, especially children, to be imperilled by the presence in our midst of individuals of such dangerous proclivities simply because they are considered to have expiated their offence by serving a long sentence. The duration of the imprisonment should be determined by the time required for cure of the moral malady which gave rise to the offence.

But a more familiar, more fundamental, and, I submit, more important, condition of the prisoner's reform is the change expressed in the word "repentance." And I mean by repentance, not so much sorrow or self-aborrence, as that which is literally signified by the word for repentance in the New

Testament, *μετάνοια*—change of mind, or, more explicitly, change of intention and moral outlook. This change is not in all cases sufficient, since, as indicated above, it does not necessarily abolish deeply-rooted perversions of instincts, such as dipsomania and kleptomania. Yet repentance will facilitate and help to make permanent the cures wrought by psychoanalysis, and is in any case necessary to transform selfish wasters into loyal members of society. How, then, are we to induce our prisoners to repent?

I suppose that to many the immediate answer will be "By religion" or "By Christianity." But religious appeals need some moral ideas and feelings to work upon. A morally insensitive person is likely to scoff at both the threats and the promises of religion. Now, the professional thief or swindler, or even the man driven to stealing or false pretences by financial difficulty, is not apt to feel much compunction for his offence. In the light of such moral principles as he acknowledges—and most do acknowledge some—it is not easy to convince him of having done anything very bad. He may argue that he has only taken from those better off than himself, and that worse offenders than he, swindlers on a large scale, luxurious and dissolute idlers, wealthy men and women who consume without producing, so far from being punished, are even honoured. He may blame society for allowing him to be reared in a slum and exposed to bad influences, and declare that he never had a fair chance. The legal penalty may make him furiously resentful. When we consider that repentance should mean turning from bad to good, and that not only should

the bad be abhorrent, but the good should be attractive, the prospect of reforming such an offender seems even more remote. For society being in his eyes so rotten, he cannot be expected to feel any enthusiasm at the idea of working to support it, perhaps working hard for low wages and with little expectation of bettering his lot.

Yet many who cannot be led to feel contrition for their dishonesty may be deeply touched and moved by an appeal to their natural affections. When an employee in a store has embezzled from the company which he served in order to meet debts incurred through betting, and has thus brought shame and misery on his home, he is likely to weep, not because he has diminished the dividends of the shareholders, or because he realizes that betting is sinful, but because of the sad and reproachful thoughts which he believes are in the mind of his wife and children and their impaired prospects in the world. Here there may be true and deep repentance, a detestation of his cruel and thoughtless folly in risking his family's welfare and a longing to serve them and live loving and beloved in a happy home. Religion may here step in to sanctify and bring to a successful issue the repentance which human affection has started. It remains for the D.P.A. to restore the man to a position in which he can henceforth live as he aspires to do. Sons and daughters who have brought shame and grief upon their fond fathers and mothers are susceptible to like appeals, and their cases usually present less difficulty financially and industrially.

But what of the many inmates of our prisons who

are homeless wanderers, recognizing no domestic ties, and who have lost sight of, or quarrelled with, all their relations, and those who are at one with their relations in criminal pursuits? Their dislike of prison may make them wish to be able to live without breaking the law. But there is no morality in this, and it has been proved that severity of punishment has not much effect in deterring from crime. But while men may be enemies of the existing society, they may still have some social propensity, some craving for friendly comradeship. It may be pointed out to men of this type that though their contempt for the way in which things are managed in the outer world is to some extent justified, yet it would be better for them and others if they could settle down to earn a living in a way that they need not hide or be ashamed of, enjoying the respect and friendship of their neighbours. And their treatment in prison should be adapted to persuade them of that. Those in charge of such a prisoner should manifest a genuine desire to help him and to be able to trust him as a friend. Any exhibition of unselfish service may act on the man as an attractive revelation of, and incentive to, a new and better manner of living. Thus I remember that one prisoner confessed his amazement at the devotion of teachers giving time and trouble without remuneration in holding educational classes in prison after their regular day's work. In such-wise may prisons express the better mind, the good intentions, of the community. Those who have to deal with the prisoners need not scruple to admit the injustice and callousness of the outer world, provided that they present to them some ideal

of what the world might be and invite the prisoners to help towards that ideal when they find themselves at liberty again. My own experience leads me to think that such a method of approach would in a considerable number of prisoners have some result, though the process is likely to be slow and halting in most cases, more so than the repentance arising out of natural affection, and it would need to be fostered by helpers after the men's discharge. This social repentance, like the other, would provide material for religion to work upon. Christianity will be more comprehensible and appealing to those who have a strong sense of human values and acknowledge secular moral standards and ideals, and it will reinforce and glorify them. But it remains true that the faults of society not only breed criminals, but make their redemption more difficult.

We may tabulate the uses of imprisonment under three headings. First, it keeps in restraint individuals who are dangerous when at liberty. Some of these should be passed on to mental hospitals or asylums for the insane, and not released till they can be certified as reasonably safe. Secondly, it serves to mark society's displeasure, which will probably be found the most effective deterrent to crime in the long run. Thirdly, during imprisonment influences may be brought to bear upon the offender to induce repentance and reformation, after which he should be handed over to other agencies for enabling him, so far as possible, to take his place as a useful member of the community.

In such treatment of law-breakers we shall, I think,

be acting in accordance with the mind of Christ. So far as we know He never condemned the law and legal punishment as such, though He occasionally referred to it, while St. Paul actually wrote of the magistrates of the pagan world as God's agents for the repression of crime (Romans xiii. 1-7). Yet we may well think that Our Lord, if He had the ordering of it, would have made the punishments less terrible and more humane. It has fallen to us to combine with the protection of society from violence and fraud and immorality Christ's teaching of forgiveness and help. Forgiveness to Him signified, not merely or mainly remission of penalty, but restoration to fellowship and friendship. To Him the sinner was a soul urgently needing help and capable of receiving it so soon as he was really willing, this being essentially help to the leading of a good life of service. Thus Matthew, the tax-collector, and Mary Magdalene, "from whom seven devils had gone out," both became His devoted fellow-workers. Peter too was thus exhorted: "When once thou hast turned again, strengthen thy brethren." Some prisoners may be told that their acquaintance with the seamy side of things, especially their experience of the influences that drive into vice and crime, may actually be qualifications for their taking up tasks of moral salvage and protection in days to come.

But what of capital punishment? Is it right or Christian judicially to kill those who have been convicted of deliberately killing others? I plead at least this, that capital punishment, if it is to remain, need only be the infliction of death, not the infliction of

death after frightful mental torture. The law has tried in a way to be humane, by contriving an instantaneous method of execution. But the thought of the hanging inescapable ahead, as the days and hours slip by, and the last dread night and slow dawn bring the victim second by second relentlessly nearer to the awful drop and fracture of the spinal column, administers a torment of terror worse than most forms of bodily anguish to creatures with human imagination. The solemn faces of the assembled company—sheriff or under-sheriff, prison-governor, warders, medical officer, chaplain, executioners—witness to the horror of the task that is laid on them to carry through. The prospect of all this probably adds little to the deterrent efficacy of the death penalty. The substitution for hanging of some gentler method of dispatch would be the termination of a cruelty of which society is guilty.

But should we put murderers to death at all? Edward Carpenter is probably correct when he declares that "the man convicted of murder is often one of the most reformable of criminals."¹ For he has killed someone who angered him past endurance or stood in the way of his desires, but has no motive for killing anyone else. If he can be induced to feel remorse and shame and to wish to make some amends to the relatives of the murdered person, should he not be allowed to do so? Would not this be the more Christian procedure?

It is otherwise with homicidal maniacs, or with those who are so conscienceless that they feel no

¹ *Prisons, Police and Punishment*, p. 145.

horror at committing murders. What are we to do with them? It is surely better to put them to death than to have them always under restraint in a lifelong sentence. But may not this apply to other than murderers? Edward Carpenter goes on to say: "If capital punishment had to be retained, it would be much more appropriate to confine it to hopeless recidivists, and those whose criminal propensities, if not so serious, have been proved to be entirely ineradicable." We may also ponder the words of Mr. H. G. Wells: "The rulers of the future will grudge making good people into jailers, warders, punishment dealers, nurses, and attendants on the bad. People who cannot live happily and freely in the world without spoiling the lives of others are better out of it."¹ In other words, should the community hasten the death of incurable moral degenerates and imbeciles, or should it keep them alive in institutions under competent attendants? The answer to this really depends on what is best for these wretches. Does their continuance in the body promote their mental development and moral reform, or would they progress more speedily if released from the body? To that at present we can give no definite reply, but it behoves us to keep an open mind, and to make radical changes only with caution.

But we must prevent criminality as well as cure it. It should be recognized that crimes, though against society, are yet the natural outcome of society. They are uncontrolled developments of the selfishness and licentiousness and indolence and savagery which

¹ *Anticipations*, p. 302.

within limits is allowed and even approved. They also come as more or less conscious protests of certain discontented individuals against the unsociality of society, as it were, refusals to serve and submit to a community which treats some of its members so badly.

The sources of criminality may be particularized as follows :

(1) Edward Carpenter, writing in 1905, declared that " the immense majority of cases that pass through our courts are cases arising out of sheer need, or wretched education and surroundings, and would disappear with the establishment of decent social conditions." ¹ " This weary mass of the unemployed, pinned between the closed door of the factory on the one side, and the spiked railings of the workhouse on the other, is the great source from which our criminals proceed." ² Vocational training, with assurance of employment for all who cared to profit by it, together with systematic treatment of all young people with bodily or mental maladies, would do much to reduce the prison population.

(2) Alcoholic drink aggravates crime as well as most other social evils. For instance, Sir Evelyn Ruggles-Brise, late Chairman of the Prison Commission for England and Wales, expressed his view thus : " It is a reasonable inference that alcohol enters, as a contributing factor, into about 50 per cent. of offences committed in this country in a given year." ³ Less alcohol is consumed than formerly, owing to the

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 5. This opinion is endorsed by Lord Guthrie in the article on " Prisons " in the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*.

² *Ibid.*, p. 52.

³ *The English Prison System*, p. 160.

reduction of the strength of the liquor and the increase of taxation, but the expenditure on alcoholic drink is still very high and must immensely increase poverty, and therefore indirectly promote crime, as well as disease, ill-health, infant and child mortality, unemployment, and general industrial incapacity and slowness.¹

But indulgence in alcoholic drink is itself a consequence of social malady. People drink because they are dull, because their surroundings are drab and dreary, and they crave for the glowing sense of exaltation of which alcoholic and other drugs afford a temporary counterfeit. In the well-known words of William James: "To the poor and unlettered it stands in the place of symphony concerts and of literature."²

(3) Gambling, too, is a prolific source of crime, as I learnt when prison-chaplain. I saw fathers of families in bitter distress, having been driven to steal and forge so as to redeem their betting losses. This vice also arises from lack of outlet for a natural and valuable impulse—for excitement, interest, adventure. To quote M. Maeterlinck: "Gambling is the stay-at-home, imaginary, squalid, mechanical, anæmic, and unlovely adventure of those who have never been able to en-

¹ These figures, from an article by Dr. Alfred Salter, M.P., in *The New Campaigner*, January 1927, are instructive:

" Spent on alcoholic drink in Bermondsey in one year..	£1,335,000
Spent on bread	£230,000
Spent on milk	£182,000
Spent on house rents and rates	£742,000

... Out of a low and totally inadequate wage each family on the average spends from 16s. to £1 a week on beer and spirits."

² *Varieties of Religious Experience*, p. 387.

counter or create the real, necessary, and salutary adventure of life.”¹

(4) In the eyes of some, the worst of the prevalent vices is sexual irregularity and incontinence. It was this evil—the vast numbers of prostitutes in the great cities, the double standard of morality for men and women, the prevalence of venereal disease, the slave-trade in women for immoral purposes—which gave the chief force to the woman suffrage movement before the war. This vice may seem harder to eradicate than the others, because it is in a way more natural, being the exercise of a necessary function of life. Yet it arises from similar conditions. Mr. Alfred Clutton-Brock’s words deserve attention: “To those whose sense of beauty is starved, sensuality comes as a great glory, because it awakens their sense of beauty. There is to them something actually good in it because it opens their eyes to what they had not seen before; and no preaching will make them believe that it is bad. But if they have been long aware of beauty and of its absolute value, they will not yield to sensuality as a revelation.”²

Seeing, then, that vice and crime arise from the unnaturalness and the unsociality of civilized existence we have to make human life more natural and more social.

First, there should be more scope in our civilization for the manifold exercise and development of youthful human nature. Social reformers and the mass of the people have already made a beginning. Clubs, games, dancing, music, adult education, roving holi-

¹ Quoted in vol. v. of *C.O.P.E.C. Commission Reports*.

² *The Ultimate Belief*, p. 96.

days over land and by the seashore, are already providing nobler and more satisfying exhilaration than the three vices mentioned above. But we must demand more of these, both for the crowded town-folk and the dull country-folk, especially more of the education whereby the interests and wonders of the Universe and life may be apprehended and enjoyed.

Secondly, we should strive to make society more social. It is possible for people to help one another far more in domestic and business difficulties. The sinfulness of working chiefly for private gain and the obligation of producing for others should be made commonplaces of moral instruction.

Even when society is thus transformed, we may expect to find a few degenerates and perversions in a morally progressive race. Perhaps they may be accounted for as in some way throw-backs, residual products of past social immorality. But we may hope that they will become fewer and fewer, and that humanity will know how to deal with them for its own good and theirs. Lesser divagations, attributable to the continual spontaneity of the human will, may probably be checked and redirected by gentle influence, without recourse to the strong arm of the law.

In these hopes and plans for the eradication of crimes and vices from mankind, we shall not only seek the support of psychology and social ethics, but also pray to be more and more conformed to the kindly and genial and infinitely soaring spirit of the Son of Man, who deigned to be called the "Friend of publicans and sinners."

CHAPTER VI

THE STEWARDSHIP OF WEALTH

I

OF the brief record of Christ's teaching that has survived, a remarkably large proportion has to do with the use and abuse of material wealth. If on any subject we might expect to find in the Gospels guidance for the conduct of the affairs of modern civilization, it would be as regards money and property. Yet in no other respect—not even of His deprecation of force and violence—has there been such a flagrant disregard of His teaching by Christendom as a whole ; such a repetition of “ Lord, Lord,” and a neglect to do the things that He said.

Yet it must be admitted that it is not easy to comprehend in a clear and unambiguous statement Christ's recorded teaching on wealth, and to show how it is practicable to-day. Divine truth, in spite of its simplicity, has to be won. Childlike docility, sincerity, moral aptitude, logical thought, are all needed. Without these qualities we are likely to be among those “ who seeing, see not, and hearing, hear not, neither do they understand.” Nor is the truth of the Gospel to be attained in its fullness by one only, but by many minds correcting and supplementing each other, till the vision appears for all true-hearted men to behold and lay to heart and to reproduce in fact. With this apology I make bold to offer an

interpretation, imperfect though it be, of Christ's doctrine of wealth, and to indicate its application to the vexed and ailing world of men.

To begin with, I submit that there are two main thoughts on the subject contained in the record of Our Lord's sayings : (1) that plenty of excellent food and seemly apparel and other natural requirements is, under normal circumstances, good for man ; (2) that much property is apt to be bad, or at least dangerous, for man. As to the former, we recall that He promised to those that seek first God's Kingdom and righteousness, that God would feed and clothe them as generously as He does the birds and flowers ; that He discouraged His disciples from fasting ; that He was Himself accused of eating and drinking too much for a prophet ; that on several occasions we read of His being entertained in well-to-do households. As to the latter, He told men not to lay up treasures upon earth ; He exposed the folly of amassing wealth in the parable of the Rich Fool ; He said, " Woe unto you rich " ; He also said, " How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the Kingdom of God ! " We seem justified in inferring from all this that, in the eyes of Jesus, not comfort, but property is the enemy. Apparently He wished everyone to be well-fed, well-dressed, adequately housed, and to have time for Divine worship and human intercourse. But He deprecated the concentration in a few hands of the means to such abundance and leisure, as being unfortunate for the many poor, and disastrous for the few rich. Such is the *prima facie* impression one receives of Our Lord's teaching about, and attitude

towards, wealth and poverty in general. But there are particular parts and aspects of it which call for closer study.

The first of the Beatitudes, "Blessed are the poor in spirit ; for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven," is by no means easy to understand. The corresponding saying in St. Luke, "Blessed are ye poor ; for yours is the Kingdom of God," as it stands in its context, does not convey the same difficulty. It is apparently a promise to the disciples who have voluntarily embraced poverty in order to follow Jesus, that their self-sacrifice will be amply rewarded. But we are not entitled to assume that the Beatitudes in St. Matthew are merely misunderstandings of those in St. Luke. It is probable that Our Lord, like other preachers, gave several variations of the same themes, and used similar phrases in different connections, so that two closely resembling passages, such as the parable of the Talents and the parable of the Pounds, may very well both be authentic. In any case, St. Matthew's report of the Beatitudes is important as reflecting the impression of Christ's teaching on a mind or minds steeped in Jewish thought.

A very scholarly exegesis of the first Beatitude in Matthew is to be found in the article on "Poor," in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, by Professor S. R. Driver. He maintains that the word underlying *πτωχοί* (translated "poor") is the Hebrew *'ani*, which signifies rather "humbled" or "bowed down." "In the Hebrew *'ani* the prominent idea is that of the ill-treated, or the miserable : in other words, the *'ani*, while often, no doubt, a person in need, was

primarily a person suffering some kind of social disability or distress." The word acquired a special social or political significance, as designating the class which in Israelitish history we read of as oppressed by "a high-handed and cruel aristocracy." So, for example :

"Hear this, O ye that would swallow up the needy, and cause the poor of the land to fail" (Amos viii. 4). "The Lord will enter into judgment with the elders of His people and the princes thereof: It is ye that have eaten up the vineyard; the spoil of the poor is in your houses: what mean ye that ye crush my people, and grind the faces of the poor?" (Isaiah iii. 14, 15).

'*Ani*, together with '*ebyon* (needy), "came to denote the *godly* poor, the suffering righteous, the persons who, whether 'bowed down,' or 'needy,' or 'reduced,' were the godly servants of Jehovah. It is evident that in ancient Israel, especially in later times, piety prevailed more among the humbler classes than among the wealthier and ruling classes: indeed the latter are frequently taken to task by the prophets for their cruel and unjust treatment of the former. . . . The troubles of which the '*ani* complains are not *poverty*, but chiefly religious and social wrongs."

With '*ani* was associated another word '*anaw*, "meek" or "humble." These two terms were common designations of "a *party* in ancient Israel, which appears to have first begun to form itself during the period of the later pre-exilic prophets, but which, during the exile and subsequently, acquired a more marked and distinctive character—the party, viz.,

of the faithful and God-fearing Israelites, who held together and formed an *ecclesiola in ecclesia*, as opposed to the worldly and indifferent, often also paganizing and persecuting, majority. The Psalms, especially the Psalms of 'complaint,' abound with allusions to these two opposed parties, the opposition between which seems to have been intensified in the post-exilic period, till it culminated, in the age of Antiochus Epiphanes, in the struggle between the nationalists and the Hellenizers."

Yet we can hardly suppose that Our Lord intended this blessing for the members of a political party, however superior to the rest of the nation. Besides, it is strange that oppression should have had the effect among the Hebrews of fitting them to receive spiritual gifts. Granted that, as Plato taught, it is better to suffer injustice than to do injustice, yet even the former is apt to be dehumanizing and degrading. An oppressed class is likely to cherish the sense of wrong and to wait its opportunity to rise in revenge against its masters, wrecking and slaughtering. So at least history teaches, with its many examples of furious and bloodthirsty revolutions. Or was it otherwise among the Israelites? Did their peculiar propensity for religion cause social oppression to act like the ascetic discipline of the mystic, driving the *libido* away from natural satisfactions and concentrating it upon the search for God? ¹ On the other hand, we may remark that oppression did also have

¹ *Vide* R. H. Thouless, *Introduction to the Psychology of Religion*, p. 212: "The mystic is trying to divert his *libido* from the external world in order that he may direct it entirely to God." The *libido* signifies the psychic energies of human nature.

its more usual effect of arousing hatred and revenge, even among the Jews, as appears in the fanatical gloatings of the Apocalyptists over the hell-tortures of the wicked, especially the wicked Gentiles, and in the nationalism of the Zealots which culminated in rebellion against Rome.

Yet it is true that affliction and piety are associated in the Old Testament, and it was to their association that Our Lord was supposed by the Evangelists to have alluded when He pronounced the first Beatitude. The state of soul which is commended by the Hebrew writers seems to be that of looking to God for help, whether this be mainly deliverance from ill-treatment or relief of want. We may therefore understand the term translated "poor" to signify, not so much a state of need, as a craving. The addition "in spirit," whether or not representing words actually spoken by Jesus, may be taken as fairly well indicating His thought. Dr. Zahn puts this very well: "Jesus pronounced His first blessing, not over those who as paupers or beggars receive their daily bread from the benevolence of men, but over those who, in concern for their inner life and fully sensible of their inability to help themselves, stand before God as beggars."¹ For "poor in spirit" we may say "God's beggars." To those who beg from God, will God give the highest wealth He has to bestow, the Kingdom of Heaven.

So interpreted, the saying may appear to have but a remote connection with the problems of material wealth and poverty. But when we come to inquire

¹ *Commentary on St. Matthew*, p. 183; my translation from the German.

into the source of the dissatisfaction of the righteous and consider the gifts by which God will assuage it, remembering also the historical antecedents of the saying, we are justified, I think, in discerning in it an important bearing on the present subject. In what way do the "poor in spirit" differ in their discontent from ordinary poor people? Surely in the fact that they are discontented, not chiefly with their own private poverty, but with the immoral and unfraternal conditions pervading the whole getting and spending of society. And what is the Kingdom of Heaven wherewith God will satisfy them? Not only the spiritual joy of His Fatherly presence, but also the life of brotherhood in God's family. The poor in spirit are in a way harder to satisfy than the merely poor, not because they depreciate material blessings, but because in wanting them for themselves they want them for all, and they desire them given and shared generously and freely. And if it be objected that, according to this, God cannot satisfy the poor in spirit before He has brought all people into His Kingdom, we may observe that the Kingdom of Heaven has already begun to be, however partially, here and there, and that people have already begun to live in it, behaving to one another as children of God in respect of wealth as in other matters. This interpretation may be supported by two passages in the New Testament. First, there is the saying of Christ's, recorded in the Acts: "It is more blessed to give than to receive"; which should be perhaps translated "There is more happiness in giving than in getting,"¹ since

¹ Dr. Moffatt renders: "It is happier to give than to get."

it is not receiving gifts, but getting from others what they would keep for themselves, that is less morally satisfactory. The children of God desire a society in which all interchange of goods will be an exercise of mutual good will. Secondly, we remember that the disciples in Jerusalem, living in the Apostles' fellowship and having all things in common, did "eat their food in gladness and singleness of heart." Probably they did not have what we are accustomed to call a high standard of living; yet they enjoyed their meals and had no worries about making ends meet. It has been often found that simple fare and inexpensive methods of living do give content, are in fact intensely enjoyable, if there be a general atmosphere of fellowship and helpfulness. And this suggests that the endless quest for more and more comfort, for greater and greater ornateness, for one exciting amusement after another, is really a case of a misdirected effort to satisfy a genuine craving of human nature. Certainly, appetizing food, home comfort, decoration in dress and housing, and the like, are all desirable in moderation. But owing to the lack of fellowship and fraternity, people do not know when to stop raising their standard of living, and are imperfectly aware of what is really good for them materially, or how to get it. For they have not found the happiness of giving and receiving, which hallows and sweetens all the common things of life. This we may take as Christ's teaching on one aspect of the problem of wealth—on the expenditure of money, and the enjoyment of what is bought with it, rather than on the getting and possession of it; showing us the place

of what we may broadly call "comfort" in the ideal life of man.

The next passage to be considered relates more to the other aspect—to wealth as property—and therefore more directly concerns what psychologists know as the acquisitive instinct in man. It is this: "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth consume, and where thieves break through and steal: but lay up for yourselves treasures in Heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth consume, and where thieves do not break through nor steal: for where thy treasure is, there will thy heart be also."

A few years ago, at the Annual Congress of the Church of England, a Member of Parliament suggested to the Bishops that they should explain publicly that Christ's command not to lay up treasures on earth does not prohibit saving and investment, which are so important as providing capital for industry. Literally, of course, His words do not apply to this. Moth and rust do not destroy stocks and shares, and some kinds of investment can hardly be called insecure. The holder may lose them at any time by dying, like the Rich Fool of the parable lost his stores of agricultural produce; but they themselves are too well safeguarded by law to occasion anxiety. But the saying had point when it was uttered. Actual hoarding of rich apparel and metal ornaments and bags or chests of coin was the commonest expression of the acquisitive instinct, and neither the preservation of antiques nor the organization of police was as efficient as they have since become. It was a telling observa-

tion, perhaps all the more because it had an air of familiarity, since we find a similar thought in *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, probably a much-read book at the time: "Do righteousness, my sons, upon earth, that ye may have treasure in Heaven" (Test. Levi xiii. 5).

But what are "treasures in Heaven"? They apparently mean the virtues which may be cultivated by religion and good conduct, especially by a self-denying and generous use of wealth. By giving our property away we practise unselfishness, and the unselfish disposition thus developed will be of great value to us after death. That it was a favourite thought of Our Lord's may be inferred from the compensation which He promised to the rich young man whom He invited to follow Him: "And thou shalt have treasure in Heaven." It is possible that He meant by this phrase, not only a character of higher worth, but also the friendship of those benefited by the generosity, which will in some mysterious way promote the well-being of the benefactors, since in another passage this is declared to be one of the results of the right use of money (Luke xvi. 9).

But he gives another reason for laying up treasure in Heaven rather than on earth, namely, that men's hearts will be where their treasure is; in other words, that we naturally think about, take interest in, concern ourselves about, our stored wealth, the place where it lies, and the use we are going to make of it. So if our wealth is mainly on earth, we shall take interest mainly in our present earthly existence; but if our wealth is mainly in Heaven, in the sense

that our character and friendships will benefit us most in the world to which we pass at death, our thoughts and activities will be mainly directed to that subsequent life. Similarly St. Paul: "Set your affection on things above, not on things on the earth."

Yet is it wrong to set our affection on, and take interest in, things on the earth? For instance, did not the Apostles take interest in and ardently desire and work for the progress of the Church of Christ on earth, which, as His return did not take place as soon as some had hoped, they must have come to think would continue after their death? And if that is right, is it not also right to accumulate material wealth for the benefit of posterity and to take interest in their earthly welfare? Even in New Testament times, it was for the common interest that some people should increase some kinds of property, such as flocks and herds, ploughs and draft-animals, fishing-boats and fishing nets, grinding-mills and spinning-wheels. One could, moreover, imagine the criticism that these particular words of Christ would encourage a self-centred desire for saving one's own soul, rather than a selfless devotion to the good of others, such as, indeed, the general tenor of His moral teaching demanded.

Yet this saying arises from a profound psychology, a deep insight into human nature. For Christ thereby showed Himself aware of the strong and subtle connection between the acquisitive instinct and the whole craving for and clinging to life. As we pile up wealth we add strand to strand in the rope that

binds us to earth. The more we succeed in our wealth-getting, the more is our happiness, our very capacity for life, involved in our wealth. Therefore, the more terrible will be the wrench, the more serious the rending and impoverishment, at separation from it, not least at the separation called "death." That is part of the meaning of the parable of the Rich Fool. He is represented as aghast at the prospect of dying, because he had, so to speak, twined his personality into his riches. To be dragged away from them was like tearing out his vitals.

It is otherwise when we lay up wealth for others, because then we do not picture ourselves, but them, as enjoying it. We have cultivated detachment from our property, and it hurts little to have to part from it. Meanwhile, our unselfishness will have made it easy to participate in the interests of yet others in a different world. It is true, no doubt, that those who have devoted their lives to some cause—the spread of religion, the advance of science, social progress—may regret having to leave their work. Likewise it is distressing to leave those dear ones for whom we have laboured in love. But the more unselfish our work and affection, the more endurable will be temporary separation, and the more, perhaps, will it be possible to continue our influence unseen. However, as Christ indicated, the acquisitive instinct is to be transferred from the things by which we have contact by means of the body, to the wealth of the soul which we carry with us, chiefly moral dispositions and undying friendships. It will find deep satisfaction in the accumulation of that higher order of wealth

which bodily death, so far from depriving us of, will actually enable us to realize and enjoy.

When, therefore, it is asked whether the prohibition to lay up treasures upon earth is to be understood as a condemnation of investments and the private control of capital, it must be asked in reply, for what purpose are the investments made and the capital controlled? If they are made for the sake of the community, they are not forbidden. If they are made to enable others to do good work in the world, they are not forbidden. If they are made in order that the investors may have the means to perform their own social function, they are not forbidden. If the money is laid by in order that they may pass through their old age without burdening others, it is not forbidden. But if the saving is with a view to self-centred enjoyment, or even to the self-centred enjoyment of their heirs, or to satisfy the instinct of acquisition, then it is contrary to the Divine command and warning, and cannot fail to lead to the rending and devitalizing of the personality in its passage from this world to the other. In this hauntingly beautiful, but at first puzzling and perturbing, saying of Christ's, He was alluding, not so much to the social function of wealth in the world of men, as to the right attitude of the soul towards wealth and the moralization of the wealth-getting propensity.

Simpler in its ethical meaning than the two foregoing passages is the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus. This appears to be directed primarily against the callousness of the rich to the miseries of the poor. Having neglected and refused to take any

notice of the ulcerous beggar at his gate, though, indeed, the beggar did profit by the waste from the sumptuous *ménage*, Dives is compelled, after death, to undergo the experience of being neglected when he is in misery. He is treated as he treated another, and is ironically told that it is only fair that he and Lazarus should take turns in good and evil fortune. This does not occasion such perplexities to economists, nor is it so perturbing to the super-tax payers, since the community, largely at their expense, provides workhouses where beggars are thoroughly washed and fed enough to satisfy their pangs of hunger, and, if need be, given competent medical attention. Moreover, few people, wealthy or not, would be quite so indifferent to such a spectacle of misery actually at their front door. Therefore, this parable is not likely to give them qualms of conscience or terrors of hell-fire—till they are reminded that elsewhere in the world people actually do live in squalor and die of starvation, and that agencies for helping them are limited by lack of subscriptions.

II

The *pièce de résistance* in Christ's teaching on wealth is the episode of the rich young man whom He told to sell his possessions and give to the poor and then become one of His disciples, culminating in the startling assertion, "It is easier for a camel to go through a needle's eye, than for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of God." Surely, then, it is a grave misfortune to be rich. The question leaps up: "Can a community

permit the existence of rich men and continue to deserve the name of Christian? "

Dr. Rauschenbusch humorously comments on the manœuvres of interpreters in face of this passage: "The resources of philology have been ransacked to turn the camel into an anchor-rope. Oriental antiquarian lore has been summoned to prove that the 'needle's eye' was a little rear-gate of the Oriental house through which the camel, by judiciously going down on its knees, could work its way. There is a manifest solicitude to help the rich man through. There has not been a like fraternal anxiety for the Pharisee; he is allowed to swallow the camel whole."¹ Yet even if any of these explanations were correct, it would not have much practical effect upon the desirability of avoiding great wealth.

It must be admitted that the extreme stringency of the above sayings is qualified by the commendations in the Gospel narrative on Joseph of Arimathea, a rich man, "who waited for the Kingdom of God," and on the rich chief publican, Zaccheus, with reference to whom Jesus said, "To-day is salvation come to this house." The latter was probably fairly well-to-do, even after he had repaid his past exactions fourfold and commenced to give half his money away. Yet the frequent use on Our Lord's lips of the word "save," applied to various miserable people whom He set on their feet, should make us hesitate to identify salvation quite with entrance into the Kingdom of God. Some are saved from terrible and deadly disease, bodily or moral, and yet do not

¹ *Christianity and the Social Crisis*, pp. 77, 78.

attain immediately to self-consecration to God's purposes and vivid spiritual communion with Him. It seems that Jesus did not disapprove of moderate possessions, since we read of His commendation of the centurion who was wealthy enough to build the Jews a synagogue, and of the apparently comfortable home at Bethany at which He stayed after His triumphal entry into Jerusalem. The call to part with everything was made only to candidates for actual discipleship, although the saying about the camel and the needle's eye was meant to apply to the rich generally.

We must be careful not to exaggerate Our Lord's remarks against riches. It is fairly evident from the narrative that He regarded the man's disqualification for the highest moral and spiritual life as his misfortune rather than his fault. For we read that "Jesus looking upon him loved him." Here is no so-called "communistic" antipathy for the rich, but deep sympathy for noble souls caught in worldly entanglements. Most of us know men and women of means who exhibit fine qualities. Not only have they the graciousness and courtesy which we should expect from their circumstances, but many of them are tender-hearted and devoted parents, considerate and sympathetic employers, hard-working and conscientious public servants, brave and self-sacrificing at seasons of national peril. We may say of such, that the effects of God's miracle of Redemption are apparent in their lives, and that, in Christ's words, they are not far from the Kingdom of God. In what sense then, if in any, is it still true that it is more

difficult for them than for others actually to enter that Kingdom ?

We may gather that a rich man is liable to be incapacitated from attaining a high degree of spiritual life in four ways : first, because he is more tempted than others to be selfish ; secondly, because he is more tempted than others to be proud ; thirdly, because he is apt to be more earth-bound than others ; fourthly, because he is less easy to convince of his special sinfulness.

(1) The first of these sins is the clearest to perceive ; it is also the root, to a large extent, of the other three. We see it exemplified in a flagrant form in the parable of Dives and Lazarus ; for Dives spent much money on his own luxury, and nothing apparently to relieve the distress of Lazarus. This is what rich people are in the habit of doing in a less obvious, but hardly less reprehensible, manner. When one of them spends five thousand pounds on building a new wing to his mansion, instead of giving it for the enlargement of a hospital that is too small for local requirements, he is preferring a very slight addition to his own luxury to the relief of the serious sufferings and ailments of his fellow-creatures. When another buys an extra motor-car, instead of giving the price of it to a children's holiday fund, he is preferring a trivial increase of his own recreation to giving the delights and invigoration of country and seaside to some hundreds of pining and ailing youngsters of the slums. Nor will the excuse that the expenditure on self really does more good by benefiting trade, bear more than a minute's consideration ; since, however he spends

the money, it makes work for people.¹ The plea that in spending on himself he is really spending on his family is not a valid one, if his family already has as much comfort and recreation as is good for it.

(2) In order to justify this selfishness, the rich man is driven to pretend to himself that his social worth so far exceeds the worth of those whom he has refrained from helping, that his forgoing his luxury would be worse for the world than the continuance of the poor in their squalor and ill-health. In other words, he supports his selfishness by a monstrous pride, to make it seem, not selfishness, but only taking his own due as a most important member of the community. He may also try to persuade himself and his friends that the poor are poor because they are indolent and depraved, and that therefore to provide free hospitals for their sick or free holidays for their children will make them morally worse and so do more harm than good. So he joins to his pride in his own importance a contempt for the unworthiness of others. We may remark that the rich are frequently accused of pride and contempt in the Hebrew Scriptures.

(3) The rich man by thinking of his wealth as his property and instrument for his own gratification does, in the Gospel words, lay up treasure upon earth and sets his heart there. Consequently, he shrinks

¹ The French economist Frédéric Bastiat showed this long ago by his example of the broken window-pane in *Things Seen and Not Seen*, translated by Dr. Hodgson. Similarly, Mr. Hartley Withers, in *Poverty and Waste*, p. 20: "This grey-whiskered fallacy, which is cherished by a majority, probably, of the people who have much money to spend, is the cause of much of the tangle into which the business affairs of mankind have been twisted."

from death and is comparatively insensible of that wealth of soul which is unimpaired by death and may even be more richly enjoyed in the other world. It is not that money buys only the lower kinds of pleasure ; for it can purchase beautiful pictures and soul-thrilling music and journeys amidst glorious scenery, as well as more intellectual enjoyments for those who have the taste for them. But the very fact that these are expensively bought, tends to associate them with the possession of a large income and so diminishes their elevating influence.

(4) To this we may add that this kind of sin has a peculiar power of resisting conviction. "Money," writes Mr. Hugh Martin, "is a narcotic. It drugs the higher sensibilities of the soul. . . . Xavier said that in the confessional men had confessed to him all the sins which he knew and some he had never imagined, but that none had ever of his own accord confessed that he was covetous."¹ Anger and lust have their ebbs and flows, but avarice holds on tight to its object. Also money is able to purchase luxurious anodynes for the conscience-vexed soul. Furthermore, the very sense of possession is a bulwark against the humiliation which belongs to deep and thorough repentance. To express this in psychological terms, the acquisitive instinct provides material for the self-regarding instinct, enabling it to withstand the onset of the self-abasing instinct. Aptly, then, did Our Lord speak of "the deceitfulness of riches."

Does it then follow that the community ought to let none of its members hold much more than the

¹ *Christ and Money*, pp. 36, 37.

average wealth? Our Lord did not directly deal with problems of economics, but it might be argued that, since rich people labour under such spiritual disadvantage, for their sakes, if not in the general interest, the accumulations of wealth called capital, which seem indispensable for prosperity, at least in the present world of mechanized industrialism, ought to be owned by some public or communal body. Yet, allowing for some bias in the opponents of State socialism, we are faced with too many failures in experiments in this direction to "deliver the goods," for us unreservedly to adopt this as the Christian solution of the great economic problem. Moreover, legally imposed limits on both wealth and poverty tend to decrease production, because they weaken two of the strongest motives of productive work, namely, the acquisitive instinct and the dread of want. Some form of co-operative management of industry and capital, comprising both collective control and individual independence, is probably ideal. But to attempt to establish it and set it going without effecting some corresponding moral change and development in the workers would be like constructing an admirable electrical engine and trying to run it with steam-power. Many have been charmed by the Utopia of William Morris in *News from Nowhere*, in which all work from the joy of working, and there is no money, but every one takes what he wants, and there is enough and more than enough for all. Something of this nature may be the ultimate outcome of the application of Christianity to industry. But at present it were wise to retain the industrial and

economic fabric of society, since we cannot afford to wait for industrial good works till men have been industrially converted. This seems implied in Our Lord's own words, "The labourer is worthy of his hire." Meanwhile, Christianity has to promote the growth in individuals of moral and social impulses and principles which are conformable to the primary principles of love for God and man. Has Christ, then, anything more to teach as to the transformation of the attitude of man to wealth, suitable for the great mass of mankind occupied with the work of the world?

He certainly has, in what may be called the doctrine of the stewardship of wealth, which we find, as it were, appended to the parable of the Unjust Steward:

"I say unto you, Make to yourselves friends by means of the mammon of unrighteousness, that, when it shall fail [or "when ye die"], they may receive you into the eternal tabernacles. He that is faithful in a very little is faithful also in much: and he that is unrighteous in a very little is unrighteous also in much. If therefore ye have not been faithful in the unrighteous mammon, who will commit to your trust the true riches? And if ye have not been faithful in that which is another's, who will give you that which is your own?"

In other words, material wealth, so evilly gotten and so evilly spent, may be turned to good account: it may be used for making friends by a generous and wise application of it. Money is of comparatively trivial value, often connected with sin, does not really

belong to its nominal owner, but is only entrusted to him temporarily. But as the use which he makes of it is good or bad, so will there be given him, or withheld from him, a superior kind of wealth, free from such evil associations. This will be a permanent and real possession.

From this may be inferred that Our Lord did not require or expect from the generality of men the surrender of their property, but that they should use it for the common benefit, particularly for increasing friendship and good will. This may be regarded as His teaching on wealth adapted for ordinary circumstances. But since it is the obvious consequence of His primary ethical principles, it is not elsewhere to be found in the Gospels.

We have next to relate this doctrine of stewardship to the saying about the camel and the needle's eye. Will it still be exceptionally hard for the rich man to enter the Kingdom of God, if he sincerely regards himself, and honestly acts, as a steward of his riches? The answer is, No; for then he will not spend lavishly on himself money with which he could succour and benefit others. Secondly, he will in consequence have no occasion for false pride in order to bolster up selfishness and callousness. Thirdly, he will not regard his property as an instrument for his personal enjoyment, and so will not make of it a bond between himself and earth. Fourthly, since he will not be a sinner with respect to his wealth and will not have the sense of ownership of it, he will not be so tempted to use either the idea of his wealth or luxuries obtainable with it for fortifying and drugging himself against

repentance. We remember that when the disciples expressed amazement at these words of their Master, He quieted their perturbation with the reply: "With men it is impossible, but not with God." We are to-day in a better position for understanding how God can and does perform the miracle. By the Redemption of mankind He transforms rich men into honest and unselfish and conscientious stewards of their wealth. The process may seem to us lamentably slow; but "with God a thousand years are as one day."

III

Mammon may be compared to a great octopus sucking the life-blood of civilized society. It is also a virulent disease that poisons human life, engendering feverish restlessness and sudden manias, clouding and distorting the moral vision. Here is one example of its evil work.

Some while ago I happened to notice in a daily newspaper, among the advertisements of domestic vacancies, the following laconic description of a household: "Two family, ten kept." At this time the *Save the Children Fund* was appealing pitifully for money and clothes on behalf of half a million or more of Greek refugees, driven by the Turks out of their homes in Asia Minor, and then undergoing frightful privations and hardships in the bitter winter weather of Macedonia, huddled in old barracks or derelict army tents, subsisting on a minute ration of food from the Greek Government, clad in filthy rags, men

and women and children, with the natural result that the babies and children were dying at an abnormal rate. If the aforesaid family of two, with ten servants, instead of seeking a kitchen-maid, had reduced their domestic establishment to, let us say, five servants, they would have been able to save perhaps £400 a year, and with that could have provided sufficient nourishing food and warm clothes for twenty of these unhappy children, with the practical certainty of ending much suffering and giving some pleasure, and the high probability of saving some of them from an untimely death. Had they no pity for the parents in their long-drawn-out agony, watching their darlings fade away, just for the lack of the common necessities of life—a little milk and a woollen garment or two, and some shelter from the rain and cold? Did not Christ, on His way to the cross, express pity for the women who would one day see their children perish from hunger and by violence, in some sense setting their sufferings beside His own? One would have supposed that the appeal of the wailing child and the more awful mother's or father's torture of grief would have melted any human heart not absolutely turned to stone. But no; mammon had laid its paralysing hand on them.

And yet human nature is not as rotten and dead as this instance might lead us to suppose. If some wealthy person, who had refused to reduce his or her own luxuries to save a few dozen or a few hundred of these refugee children from a miserable death, and their parents from anguish worse than almost any death, had happened to be on a sinking ship with one

of these children, probably he or she would have made room, quite willingly and readily, for the little mite in the life-boat, and heroically chosen for himself or herself the likelihood of drowning. Yet at such a moment a rich person would give quite ten thousand pounds to be rescued. So at one time the life of a child is worth more than ten thousand pounds; at another time the lives of a hundred children are not worth a tenth of that sum. What extraordinary inconsistency! In a sense, the harm done by mammon is largely superficial. At the shock of some death-dealing crisis its evil spell is broken, and self-sacrifice wells up fresh and strong from the uncorrupted depths of the soul.

In the course of five years the *Save the Children Fund* collected in this country and administered for the benefit of the starving Austrians and Russians and Greeks a bare two million pounds. There were other British charitable agencies engaged in the same work, but their aggregate contributions were, I think, not greater than this. Meanwhile the expenditure on alcoholic drink in the United Kingdom was over 300 million per annum, and the total income of individuals with £5,000 a year and upwards was 345 million per annum, or somewhere about 230 million, after deduction of taxes and rates.¹ True, there were other charities calling out for subscriptions, but there was also much needless and harmful expenditure on excessive food and clothes and amusements and servants, etc. If Jesus had appeared among us,

¹ Vide *The National Income*, by Professor Bowley and Sir Josiah Stamp, p. 57.

would anyone have dared to offer Him the excuse that was current among us, namely, that the Russian children were being so corrupted by pernicious political and moral propaganda that it was the truest kindness to let them die? Avarice is prolific of such excuses. Probably Judas thought himself quite justified in selling his Master for thirty pieces of silver.¹

This enormous, staggering cruelty, this crazy preference of costly luxury for self to the deliverance of others from untellable misery and anguish, is the wickedness which in our generation corresponds to the barbarities of former ages, such as the execution of criminals under torture, the Spanish Inquisition, the negro slave-trade, the horrible floggings of convicts and others, the working of children to death in the "dark Satanic mills."² There were positive cruelties once; now there are negative cruelties, refusals to alleviate sufferings and save life at the cost of a little money and trouble. Yet it was this sort of cruelty that Jesus Himself gave as the chief ground for damnation when He said: "Verily I say unto you, inasmuch as ye did it not unto one of these least, ye did it not unto Me."

One knows not which to blame the most—the rich for their callous neglect, the authorities of the Christian Church for their condoning silence, or the whole

¹ I do not suggest that the principle, "Love thy neighbour as thyself," should be carried out to the extent of half-starving one's own children so as to save the children of foreigners from complete starvation. For we must bear in mind that the wound to love for the former might outweigh the bodily suffering of the latter. I have discussed this question in *The International Journal of Ethics*, April 1926, under the title, "Ethical Principle and Human Relationship."

² William Blake,

community, apathetic and indifferent.¹ Perhaps none of these very much, since all were shrouded and stupefied by the same dense effluvium of mammon. But the remedy is not far to seek. It is Christ and His teaching.

The Church has to explain to the world the deep truths underlying Christ's commendation on the poor in spirit and His command to lay up treasures, not on earth, but in Heaven, and to show why it is hard for the rich man to enter God's Kingdom. But as a weapon against the more glaring and unabashed exhibitions of pompous luxury coupled with contemptuous indifference for the extremer kinds of want, the parable of Dives and Lazarus lies to hand for whoever, priest or prophet, cleric or layman, orthodox or heretic, man or woman, aspires to do battle with mammon. "The sword of the Spirit is the word of God."

Then for constructive ethical teaching in the department on economics we can use Christ's doctrine of stewardship. As the manager of a bank, the treasurer of a municipal corporation, the bursar of a college, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, are respectively to the funds under their control, so is the Christian meant to be to the money and other property of which

¹ Mr. C. F. G. Masterman, during the Russian famine, wrote as follows: "Ten years ago relief, irrespective of political opinion or even of home scarcity, would have been rushed into a Russia with fifteen millions of men, women, and children in jeopardy and two million dead. How many of the hundreds of thousands of decent men who are watching the football of a Saturday have ever entertained an idea of even putting pressure on their Government, or 'let their little fingers ache,' for such an incalculable load of misery?"—*England after War*, p. 12.

he is the legal possessor ; with this difference, that whereas the others draw fixed salaries, it is left to the honour and honesty of the Christian to take just so much as he thinks will best promote the general good, and no more. He has to weigh the requirements of others against his own as a "labourer worthy of his hire," a worker in the commonwealth of God. Occasions may arise when it will be his duty to stint and deny himself even in respect of elementary wants ; but normally he may be encouraged to take what is requisite for his own efficiency. For instance, one in a high position demanding a clear and strenuous intellect may rightly spend more than most on holidays, relaxing and refreshing an overstrung and jaded brain. The doctrine of stewardship, by reposing so much trust on the individual, has the advantage in elasticity over a definitely regulated scheme of expenditure. The principle once accepted in good faith, its application in detail will follow in due course. Still, the Church may well suggest some general methods of application, such as an upper limit of legitimate expenditure on self and family, apart, let us say, from education and medical expenses ; also indications of the relative importance and financial needs of different social services. For stewards must learn to be wise as well as just.

But what dignity we have found for the rich ! Hitherto they have been in the ignoble and rather ridiculous position of the lucky ones in the world's lottery. Henceforth they are to be the respected and responsible ministers of the finance of mankind.

IV

How will this personal moral change affect the industrial situation? In the first place, it will tend to mutual trust and good will. Revolutions, class antagonism, the deliberate policy of "going slow," are the outcome of natural resentment at injustice and inhumanity. Our Lord said, "Give, and it shall be given you." The opposite is also true: "If you refuse to give, people—unspiritual, sub-Christian people—will be loath to give to you." Revolutions and class-warfare are wrong, since all revenge is wrong; but they spring from a sense, usually more or less correct, of the violation of humane principles. So the C.O.P.E.C. report: "The sense of injustice in industrial dealings is one of the strongest causes of friction. The workers feel that their wages and conditions are not what they 'ought to be,' and that others are getting rich at their expense."¹ A letter in *The Times* is worth quoting in this connection: "I do not think that any single step would more contribute towards a new spirit of industry, than the acceptance by the owners of capital of what seems to me the manifest truth, that the inheritance of wealth is in its ultimate analysis a public trust, and that as good citizens they should not spend more of its proceeds upon themselves than will enable them to discharge their responsibilities properly, and should put the balance into capital improvements or public service of some kind."²

¹ *Industry and Property*, p. 124.

² By Mr. Philip Kerr, December 11, 1925, quoted by Hugh Martin, *op. cit.*

Secondly, the stewardship of wealth would furnish a considerable flow of money for capital, probably more than self-interest does at present, for the development of industry in this country and the extension of agriculture and industry in the more recently settled lands overseas. For I certainly do not mean to imply that the greater part of the surplus income of the rich should be devoted to charity, at least, not after the more pressing needs of the present have been met. If half the money spent in keeping up big domestic establishments and in extravagant amusements were transformed into capital, it should do much to increase the efficiency of labour and probably ensure more regular employment.¹ Especially desirable for the material prosperity and physical well-being of the nation is the investment at very low rates of interest of large sums in the promotion of emigration and the *pari passu* development of the lands to which the emigration is directed.

Thirdly, some of the available money might well be applied to rehousing projects, whether national, municipal, co-operative, or private, to vocational and adult education, and other schemes of social progress.

Fourthly, the comparative abundance of unassigned profits that might be expected to ensue from honest and capable stewardship, combined with the increase

¹ "If expenditure on luxuries were turned into accumulation of capital and capital became plentiful and cheap, there are plenty of profitable uses to which it might and would be put."—Hartley Withers, *Poverty and Waste*, p. 28. Surely the elimination of private extravagance is a better way than the reduction of taxation for valuable social services, of accumulating the capital said to be required for increasing employment.

of good will between employers and employed, would render it more feasible to experiment with some of the sociological theories to which reformers have pinned their faith : co-partnership, guild socialism, the public control of credit.

Fifthly, when or even before the requirements of charity, capital, social progress, and experiment in social reconstruction have been fully met, the stewardship of wealth will increase the remuneration of the poorer, at least, among the workers. Shareholders, if Christian, will sometimes—I do not say “ always ”—vote less dividends for themselves and higher wages for the employees of their joint-stock company. They will not wait for this until either the competition of other employers or the power of the trade unions forces it from them. It is probable, however, that the extra remuneration will be given mainly to those whose needs are more, particularly to the men who have undertaken the vitally important task of rearing children for the nation and the race.

V

Let us look again at Christ's teaching on stewardship : “ He that is faithful in a very little is faithful also in much. . . . If therefore ye have not been faithful in the unrighteous mammon, who will commit to your trust the true riches ? ” In other words, so soon as we learn to behave honestly with money and the property which money represents, new responsibilities, new values, new vistas of progress will open out before us. The stewardship of wealth is, as we have

seen, a key to unlock the gate of the economic problem and of many social problems involved in it. The reform of individual character and the reform of social arrangements must proceed together, but the first is the condition of the second, rather than the second of the first. Those who speak in the name of Christianity should address themselves primarily to moral change in the members of the community which they aspire to render Christian. But the personal changes demanded should be practical and social from the start. People must be told how to act towards others in respect of the wealth under their control, and at the same time be shown the dishonour of a selfish misappropriation of that wealth, and the honour attaching to a noble and wise use of it. This teaching is suitable for all, for those who have more and those who have less, till it becomes a universally accepted principle, an axiomatic truth, of society.

Money—that is, virtually, the power to get services from others by acting on their self-interest—is not the most important thing that a human being has or is placed as a steward over. It is, as Christ said, relatively “little.” But, as He also said, the right use of this “little” thing leads on to endowment with superior wealth and capacities. This is true socially, as well as individually; in this world, as in the worlds beyond. The realization and fulfilment of the stewardship of material wealth will prepare the ground for the growth of many fair flowers and delectable fruits of human goodness, beauties and values that may not be bought or sold. Even now it is apparent that economic bonds restrict the free exercise and develop-

ment of much kindness and willing service and happy fellowship. A moral loosening and readjustment of these bonds will set the finer and more vital faculties in human nature free to function.

But if there come unfettered friendliness and fellowship, vigorous and gracious, then other more wonderful powers will develop ; spiritual qualities and abilities such as have already shown themselves rarely in saintly persons at epochs of religious movement and ardour. Inspirations, revelations, miracles, spiritual exaltations—whatever may have been the gifts of the Spirit, doubted and even disparaged since—we shall have again. These are among the greater riches which await humanity when it has learnt simple honesty and unselfishness. Mammon blocks the way at present ; but mammon will vanish when seen for the fraud that it is.

This age is, I believe, the best that has been on the earth since history began. Mankind knows far more than it did in the past ; it can do far more ; it is more merciful ; it has hopes and plans for improvement. But in spite of all this intellect and ability and kindness and idealism, it suffers from a certain impotence. Men grope for God and hanker after the higher life of the spirit, but are liable to be mocked by illusions, and so fall to disputing among themselves. But if by Christ's wisdom we diagnose our malady, we may also by His aid seek to be cured. Then we shall know God as our Father and ourselves as His family.

CHAPTER VII

MARRIAGE

I

THAT the Christian conception of marriage is in accordance with the natural tendencies of mankind may be inferred from a comparison of Christ's ideal with the primitive forms of wedlock as disclosed by anthropological science. Edward Westermarck summarizes the conclusions of his great book as follows :

“ We defined marriage as a more or less durable connection between male and female, lasting beyond the mere act of propagation till after the birth of the offspring. It is found among many of the lower animals, it occurs as a rule among the anthropomorphous apes, and it is universal among mankind. It is closely connected with parental duties : the immediate care of the children belongs chiefly to the mother, whilst the father is the protector and guardian of the family. Being a necessary requirement for the existence of certain species, it obviously owes its origin to an instinct developed through the powerful influence of natural selection.” ¹ As to the continuance of the matrimonial bond this author remarks : “ In human marriage every degree of duration is met with—from unions which, though legally recognized as marriages, do not endure long enough to deserve to be so called, to others which are dissolved only by

¹ *The History of Human Marriage*, English translation, p. 537.

death.”¹ “Marriage, generally speaking, has become more durable in proportion as the human race has advanced.”² Upon the subject of monogamy he gives it as his opinion: “We may safely say that, although polygamy occurs among most existing peoples, and polyandry among some, monogamy is by far the most common form of human marriage. It was so also among the ancient peoples of whom we have any direct knowledge. Monogamy is the form which is generally recognized as legal and permitted. The great majority of peoples are, as a rule, monogamous, and the other forms of marriage are usually modified in a monogamous direction.”³

This innate tendency to monogamous lifelong marriage Jesus declared to be an ordinance of God given to the human race at its commencement, when He said: “From the beginning of the creation, male and female made He them. For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife; and the twain shall become one flesh: so that they are no more twain, but one flesh. What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder.”

An intimate lifelong union of man and woman, wherein the bodily functions are consecrated both to the procreation of children and to love—this is natural to man both according to anthropology and to Christ. It is what should be, what agrees best with human nature in its healthy and normal condition, however many lapses from, or failures to attain, this standard

¹ *The History of Human Marriage*, English translation, p. 517.

² *Ibid.*, p. 549.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 459.

may be found to occur. "Male and female made He them," said Jesus, quoting Genesis; "therefore shall a man . . . cleave to his wife." We may interpret this to mean that the sexual propensities of men and women, since they are intelligent and moral beings and capable of sustained affection, can find their complete satisfaction only in a lifelong wedlock. The sexual instinct in human beings is, naturally and according to Divine ordering, the basis of a permanent affectionate fellowship of one man and one woman.

Such is not merely the ideal, but the normal course of marriage among decent, healthy-minded, moral men and women. Natural human affections, supported by moral principle, still more when reinforced by religion and a modicum of spirituality, are powerful enough to survive and overcome many misunderstandings and incompatibilities and wrongs of a minor sort. Difficulties begin when we turn our attention to the big offences and inquire whether any of these justify the breaking of the marriage bond, and the formation of another marriage by either of the partners.

What can be gathered from Our Lord's own words? As is well known, the records differ: according to St. Matthew He allowed divorce only for fornication; according to St. Mark and St. Luke, for no reason whatever. Dr. R. H. Charles espoused St. Matthew's version, holding that while the other Evangelists gave the actual words of Christ, St. Matthew gave the meaning. Dr. Charles postulated that Our Lord omitted to say "except for fornication" because the wife was among the Jews subject to the death penalty

for this offence, but that if the death penalty were remitted, He would have considered infidelity as justifying divorce. St. Matthew, he contended, added these words in order to make Our Lord's meaning clear to Gentile readers, among whom adultery was not necessarily visited with death.¹ This view has been countered by Dr. Box with the assertion that death was not the normal penalty for adultery, but only for adultery *in flagrante delicto* (*vide* Deuteronomy xxii; cp. John viii. 4).² He believes that the passage in the Mishnah, upon which Dr. Charles relied, recording the abolition of the death penalty about forty years before the destruction of Jerusalem, referred to the loss by the Sanhedrin of the right to inflict any capital punishment. Both Dr. Box and Bishop Gore regard the clauses in the two passages in St. Matthew, permitting divorce for unchastity (v. 32; xix. 9), as interpolations prompted by the ideas of the Early Church in Palestine.³ Dr. Gore furthermore disagrees with Dr. Charles's opinion that St. Paul regarded intercourse with another woman as automatically dissolving the bond with the wife (1 Cor. vi. 15, 16), and insists that St. Paul permitted separation, but forbade divorce with re-marriage, distinguishing clearly between them, in the words: "Unto the married I give charge, yea not I, but the Lord, That the wife depart not from her husband (but and if she depart, let her remain unmarried, or else be reconciled to her husband); and that the

¹ *The Teaching of the New Testament on Divorce.*

² *Divorce in the New Testament*, by Dr. Box and Dr. Gore.

³ These were probably influenced by the prohibition in the Old Testament of the marriage of harlots (Leviticus xxi. 7, 14).

husband leave not his wife" (1 Cor. vii. 10, 11). Dr. Gore allows that St. Paul sanctioned re-marriage for a "believing" husband or wife deserted by an "unbelieving" partner, to whom he or she had been married as pagans, seeing that St. Paul writes: "Yet if the unbelieving departeth, let him depart: the brother or the sister is not under bondage in such cases" (1 Cor. vii. 15). But this was because their pagan marriage "had been entered into without the idea of contracting an indissoluble union."¹

On the whole, I think, Dr. Box and Bishop Gore make out a good case against the authenticity of the debated clause in St. Matthew, though on this as on many other problems in Biblical criticism we have to be content with probabilities. But we may be confident that Our Lord would not have counselled a husband to divorce a wife for a temporary infidelity of which she had repented, or a wife a husband. For it belongs to the very texture of the Gospel that penitent sinners are to be forgiven and restored to full relationship by those against whom they have offended.

When we attempt to apply this marriage code, in either form, to modern conditions, we are beset with difficulties. Adultery, at least in the sense of an occasional act, does not appear to many to be the most cogent ground for divorce. So Dean Inge: "It seems to me it might be safer, in the interests of morality, to grant divorce for crime, contagious diseases, incurable drunkenness, and brutal cruelty, than for adultery."² He points out how when

Divorce in the New Testament by Dr. Box and Dr. Gore,
pp. 49-52.

² *Lay Thoughts of a Dean.*

husband and wife both wish for a divorce, in order that one or both may re-marry, they not infrequently contrive a faked case of adultery, in order to satisfy legal requirements. Moreover, these other offences are normally more destructive of domestic life and happiness.

It has been questioned whether Our Lord contemplated such horrors when He said that a man had no right to divorce his wife for any reason "except for fornication." Owing to the subjection of woman, a wife's tendency to criminality or drunkenness could have been easily suppressed, while little, if anything, was known about venereal disease. It might be argued that Christ's strictness was mainly humanitarian, as if He had said, "You have no right to turn your wife adrift, to starve or become a prostitute, merely because she is unsatisfactory."

That He meant much more may be gathered from several indications: first, the prohibition recorded by St. Mark against a wife divorcing her husband;¹ secondly, His condemnation as an adulterer of the man who marries a divorced woman (Matt. v. 32, Luke xvi. 18), as it were for compounding a felony by completing the destruction of the original marriage; thirdly, His conception of marriage as a lifelong union, expressed in the words, "the twain shall be one flesh." We may conclude that, though the unfairness and cruelty of the husband in sending his wife away—women being in a lamentable state of subjection, so that they were powerless to defend or support them-

¹ Regarded by Dr. Charles as not authentic, on, I think, insufficient grounds.

selves—was one ground for Christ's condemnation of divorce, it was not the only ground, the other being the sanctity of marriage itself.

All the same, it may be replied, we must not apply the brief enunciation of the principle in the Gospel as an invariable rule. As when He said, "Give to him that asketh thee," He left it to individuals to make exceptions in the case of fraudulent beggars, so when He forbade divorce, He left it to the Church to make exceptions to meet circumstances which hardly then existed. For the emancipation of woman has rendered it less possible for the husband to prevent misconduct in the wife, and more possible for the wife to escape from the misery arising out of the husband's misconduct, by refusing to live with him. That Our Lord did not advocate this emancipation was part of His general policy not to press for the reform of institutions, whether political or social. All this, it may be contended, leaves us free and under the obligation to use our own judgment in dealing with modern matrimonial disasters and entanglements.

To some extent this is to be admitted ; yet we have to apprehend the mind of Christ, to try to see things from His point of view. The fundamental truth which in this department of life He saw and revealed is the Divine naturalness of marriage, hallowed and fortified by Christian love and safeguarded by the redeeming power of Christian forgiveness.

Before we discuss special difficulties and problems relating to marriage, we should be prepared to distinguish the following : (1) What is the ideal conduct

in any emergency ; (2) What arrangements the Church should or should not recognize as valid ; (3) What the Church may lawfully pass over without punishment, whether penance or excommunication ; (4) What it is expedient for the State to recognize as valid. That these are not identical is evident from parallel cases relating to the expenditure of money. It may be the ideal for some to sell their property and give to the poor, but the Church could hardly reprimand anyone for not doing so. The Church should reprimand avarice and luxury, but, except in very extreme cases, it would hardly be expedient for it to excommunicate on that account. It might do so for some forms of dissolute extravagance, which, however, it would not be practicable for the State to treat as offences against the law.

We must also consider the advisability of the temporary separation of husband and wife, as an intermediate measure between the continuance of marital relations and complete divorce such as would permit re-marriage. This appears especially desirable for the sake of any children there may be. Do we ever wonder that Jesus, who displayed such regard and affection for little children, should not have given the world some counsel as to the duties and functions of parents ? But so much of His recorded teaching arose out of questions put to Him, and we read of no questions being asked Him relating to the care of children. It has been left to us to answer in His Name, in the light of His general moral principles, the questions on this subject which others put to us and we put to ourselves. Surely, then, for some unhappy homes we may

feel justified in recommending in the interests of the children a temporary separation of father and mother, especially seeing that St. Paul appears to have contemplated such a measure. With these provisional reflections we may proceed to develop our ethics of Christian marriage in reference to some typical instances of matrimonial difficulty.

(1) A young man and woman, whom we will call A and B, marry after a brief acquaintance, but soon quarrel and separate. Some years later, neither knowing the other's whereabouts, A takes C as a mate and B takes D, and each of these new couples settles down in a home and brings children into the world, rearing them with care and affection. Then let us suppose that A and B both fall under the influences of religion, become truly penitent for their misconduct, and desire to do right from henceforth. What counsel should a minister of the Church give them? On the assumption that St. Mark's version of Christ's teaching is the correct one, so that no divorce under any circumstances is allowable, yet would it be right for A and B to go back to live with one another, leaving C and D to look after the children? Or should they take their children with them into their new home, dragging them away from their other parents? In either case the parting would be distressing to the children, and there would be a danger of their young minds being upset and soiled with the disclosure of the ugly past. Or should the minister tell A to continue to live with C, and B with D, but not as husbands and wives? Yet might not this be asking too much from human nature?

But let us be quite sure whether A and B, in virtue of the marriage ceremony of years ago, are still in God's sight husband and wife. Is marriage absolutely indissoluble? Did Christ say so? We will take His recorded words quite literally: "What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder." Does this mean that a man and a woman once married are still married to each other, whatever either or both may do, till one of them dies? Surely not; it implies the opposite. If it were impossible to put asunder what God has joined, there would be no point in telling men not to do it. For all intents and purposes, this marriage, however wickedly, has been dissolved. The two joined together by God have by their own wanton and sinful behaviour put themselves asunder. The question now is, not whether it is wrong in a very urgent case to separate what God has joined, but whether it is right to ask God to sanctify another union of the same two. Folly and sin have destroyed the original union; natural affections have produced two other unions incompatible with the first. What ought we to do to amend or improve the situation?

Since the attempt to join together again those who have put themselves asunder would probably involve moral harm to the children, wounding their young hearts and polluting their minds, besides possibly causing them bodily privation, surely it were better to leave the homes undisturbed. Conceivably the Church might think it salutary to impose some sort of penance on A and B for their sin of long ago; but it should recognize and even give its benediction to the existing unions. For however sinful they were in

their origin, they have become the embodiment of those strong and sweet affections wherein the natural man shows likest his Creator. The wrong having been done past undoing, it remains to purify and elevate the present imperfect good.

(2) Next let us suppose that a pure-minded girl marries a man who, unknown to her, has behaved licentiously. After the wedding she discovers that he is suffering from a virulent disease, the consequence of his immorality, which threatens lifelong invalidity to her and deformity and insanity to any children they may have. What is she to do? We are entitled to maintain that, since the marriage was made under false pretences, there has been no joining together by God. It may be considered as invalid from the commencement. Yet it should be open to the woman to make it valid if she chooses. Suppose that she deeply loves the man and desires by a great self-sacrifice to save him from the moral ruin which will probably ensue if she leaves him, she may, taking precautions against bringing deformed and idiot children into the world, aspire to devote herself to his regeneration. By the redeeming power of the love of God acting through her she may take it as her mission to save him. But that must be, if at all, by her free consent. Such love is easier to discourse about than to achieve. For those of us whose homes are harmonious and affectionate to dictate the right behaviour to others suffocated with such sordid misery savours of impertinence. The Church has no right to require such a sacrifice, or even to suggest it, and if the woman leaves the man and chooses another mate,

should be ready to bless the second marriage and treat it as perfectly valid.

(3) Then there are the more ordinary cases of drunkenness and cruelty developed after marriage. These are at once more urgent and more difficult when there are children. The wife, or husband, might be willing nobly to submit to the ill-treatment, fearing worse degradation for the offending partner if cast adrift, and hoping by pleading and tenderness to effect some amendment. But when there are children, such an attitude is not always morally possible. The wicked father, or mother, must not be allowed to turn what should be a little heaven into a sort of hell. It then becomes the duty of society to intervene and, if necessary, to take the bad parent away from the home and to provide the sustenance or care which he or she should have given. For we cannot allow the children to starve, or to grow up and possibly die in filth and misery because either the father or the mother is an idle drunkard, or to have their young minds polluted by witnessing horrid scenes of cruelty or fighting or debauchery. Meanwhile the defaulting parent should be subjected to correction and, if possible, made to contribute towards the support of the home.

But should there be divorce, permitting the virtuous parent to seek another mate? Might not that be the readiest method of restoring to the children the home life which is their due? It might seem so; but has the offending parent no rights? Should not a place be kept vacant in the family circle in expectation of the day when he or she will be fit to occupy

it? Christian love does not cast away, but rather says :

Thou must come
Back to the heart's place here I keep for thee.¹

No wickedness can for ever deprive a soul of its niche in God's family, nor rightly in a human family also.

This we may regard as the ideal conduct. But to attempt to enforce it by law may tend to lamentable results, as Mr. Cecil Chapman, with a long experience as Metropolitan Magistrate, makes evident. He writes of the divorce law of 1857 in these terms : " In granting separations without the power of re-marriage it promotes immorality, illegitimacy, and concubinage." ² " In 1900, 6,661 separation orders were made by courts of summary jurisdiction in England and Wales. . . . In the same year there were 40,000 bastards born, and it is not too much to say that deserted wives form a large proportion of the population in our workhouses. These figures are surely calculated to make the most prejudiced admit that the remedy of separation is attended by fearful consequences, whatever the result of granting divorce may be." ³ But if the State, in view of these consequences, does grant divorce with the right to re-marriage, for the Church then to excommunicate those who avail themselves of the right, while it puts no stigma on selfish idlers, would be a sort of straining out the gnat and swallowing the camel. Not only because of hardness of hearts, but even because of failure to be Christlike, some divorce and re-marriage

¹ Robert Browning, *Any Wife to Any Husband*.

² *Marriage and Divorce*, p. 74.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

may have to be allowed. I suggest that in many such cases the right course for the Church would be, not to forbid the new union under pain of excommunication, but to withhold its full benediction: the union should not be celebrated in church. But the lawfulness and morality of a new marriage should be regarded as depending on the extent to which the guilty partner has severed his connection with the innocent one. If he has acted so as to break irreparably the marriage bond, would there then appear any obstacle to a new marriage? A further question is whether any distinction should be made between the innocent and the guilty parties in respect of the right, legal or ecclesiastical, to marry again. Perhaps the best course in most cases would be to withhold the right till the innocent had either re-married or had given permission to the other to do so. The guilty one should not be allowed to marry without the new partner being informed of his or her bad record.

(4) Occasional marital infidelity should not lead to a break-up of the family. Such misconduct should not, I think, be treated either as a moral or as an ecclesiastical or as a legal ground for divorce. But what of persistent adultery? This is an offence which usually only fairly wealthy people find themselves able to afford, without causing deprivation to their rightful families. Suppose a married man keeps a mistress and has children by her, while continuing to support and live with his wife and children, what ought the wife to do? And what ought the Church and the State to do? For the sake of her own children and for the sake of her husband, it may be best for the

wife to do nothing but plead with him and pray for him. But if she thought that her children were being morally corrupted by seeing their father with the strange woman and hearing tales about his evil conduct, she might feel it to be her duty to demand a separation, and this the State would have to grant. As in the previous class of cases, it might not be expedient for the State to withhold from the wife the right to enter into a civil marriage with another, or from the husband to do so with the mistress ; but the Church might at the same time refuse to accept these new unions as full marriages, without going so far as to excommunicate any of the persons concerned. For the Church has, on the one hand, to uphold the ideal, and, on the other, to avoid driving weak and passionate people into loose and licentious sexual relations, both for their own sakes and for that of the children in existence or to be expected. We should add that the wife of such a husband, if really Christlike, would consider the welfare of his other children in any steps she took to put right what he had done wrong.

(5) There is also the difficult class of cases in which both husband and wife want a divorce in order that one or both of them may marry someone else. Out of this arise those faked adulteries by which both law and morality are notoriously flouted. Would it not be better to allow those to separate who wish to separate, without having either to commit a crime or to pretend to do so ? For the "hardness of men's hearts" it may be judged desirable that the State should allow divorce and civil re-marriage where all parties are willing ; for it is practically impossible for

the strong arm of the law either to compel men and women to live together or to prevent them from doing so. When, however, the discontented couple have children dependent on them, the State should insist on one or other of the parents providing them with a decent home life, and be prepared with severe punishments for failure in this respect. But the Church should exercise moral pressure by refusing to accept as true marriages irregular unions which the State may deem it wise to register, and, by so expressing the moral judgment of the community, influence even those who repudiate any definite Christianity.

These examples are not intended to cover all the possible or actual sorts of matrimonial problems and disasters, but rather to indicate ways in which reverence for the ideal may be reconciled with acceptance of the facts, sometimes very ugly facts, of corrupted human nature. For we must aim at the highest while we deal with what is ordinary and even debased, as Christ Himself did. It is impossible to solve beforehand all the hard cases. They will be found to have their peculiar difficulties, and many of them their special alleviations and ways of escape. But in all things let charity rule.

II

Several times in the New Testament wives are bidden to obey or submit themselves to their husbands (Eph. v. 22-24 ; Col. iii. 18 ; 1 Tim. ii. 11 ; Titus ii. 5 ; 1 Peter iii. 1-5). Twice St. Paul calls the husband the head of the wife. Women are also debarred from

any active or prominent part in religion ; for they are ordered to keep silence in the churches and not allowed to teach. We thus find both a general subjection of women to men, at least in ecclesiastical affairs, and a special subjection of woman to man in marriage.

These Apostolic injunctions were in accordance with the almost universal subjection of women rooted in the civilization of the age. They were doubtless reasonable on two grounds : first, because the Apostles were anxious not to have Christian women scandalizing people by outraging common notions of propriety ; secondly, because the restricted and sheltered existence of women rendered them less educated than men, and therefore less capable of undertaking responsible positions in the Church or of giving opinions. That women had to give way to men, in particular that wives had to submit themselves to their husbands, was a special case of the general obligation of the learner to listen to the teacher and the subordinate to obey the manager.

But did the Apostles regard the subjection of women as essential and rooted in human nature as Divinely constituted ? Apparently St. Paul did ; for in one difficult passage he seems to declare that as man shines by reflected light derived from God, so does woman shine by a reflection of that reflection—something like the earth-shine occasionally discernible on the new moon.¹ He also makes a strange reference to “ authority on her head,” translated by Dr. Moffatt “ a symbol of subjection,” (1 Cor. xi. 10).

¹ Peake's *Commentary on the Bible*, 1 Corinthians xi. 7 : “ Some such sense as ‘ reflection ’ seems to be required.”

Against this we may set his mystic words pointing to the disappearance of sex in Christ: "There is neither male nor female: for we are all one in Christ Jesus." We must also remember that the subjection of women is in the New Testament in very much the same case as slavery. In one passage St. Paul links together these various kinds of subjection: of Christians to one another, of wives to husbands, of children to parents, and of slaves to masters (Eph. v. 21-vi. 8). One may well imagine that the Apostles were particularly careful not to connect Christianity with any movement for the emancipation of slaves, which might not only have prejudiced the new religion, but also have encouraged actual rebellion and so have led to cruel repression on the part of the authorities. Yet in the fullness of time Christianity has abolished slavery; should it not also endorse the emancipation of women?

But from Our Lord's lips no word is recorded enjoining the wife's subjection to the husband, or of women to men. In the matter of sexual morality, the implication of His words to those who brought to Him a woman taken in adultery, is that He placed the obligation to chastity for both man and woman on the same level (John viii. 7). Yet in so far as men did assert dominion over women, we can imagine Him counselling women to submit with a good grace, on the same principle as when He advised the Jews to do for their Roman conquerors more than was demanded: "Whosoever shall compel thee to do with him a mile of military transport, do two miles with him" (Matt. v. 41). For meekness and willing service

are methods of conciliating the masterful and exacting, and so of preparing them in course of time for a Christian love for God and man.

Yet we may discern emerging in the New Testament the beginnings of a relationship between men and women of free and equal comradeship. We think in this connection of the women who "ministered unto Him of their substance"—Mary Magdalene, Joanna, Susanna, "and many others"—and those, perhaps largely the same as the foregoing, "who came with Him out of Galilee." What delightful and sacred friendship and intimacy is here suggested! We remember also the Johannine story of the woman of Samaria, and the little episode in St. Luke of Martha and Mary. Then in the Acts of the Apostles we read of the women in the upper room who, along with the men, waited for and received the Holy Ghost, and of other women who were friends of the Apostles—Tabitha, Mary the mother of John Mark, Lydia, Priscilla, the prophesying daughters of Philip. In one beautiful passage, breathing affectionate courtesy and serene faith, St. Paul definitely includes women among his fellow-workers: "I exhort Euodia, and I exhort Syntyche, to be of the same mind in the Lord. Yea, I beseech thee also, true yokefellow, help these women, for they laboured with me in the Gospel, with Clement also and the rest of my fellow-workers, whose names are in the book of life," (Phil. iv. 2-3). The New Testament, as a whole, gives the impression of frank and intimate fellowship of men and women, such as commonly arises in fervent spiritual movements, promising better things to come.

Yet even under the pagan civilization there lay hidden in humanity and ready to sprout and grow when conditions should be favourable the germ of a free womanhood. This is evident in what we may regard as the country and epoch of the greatest efflorescence of human life in the pre-Christian world, Athens at the end of the fifth and the commencement of the fourth century B.C. Then it was that Euripides voiced the sorrows of women ; Plato sketched an ideal commonwealth in which women should be free and equal to men ; Aristophanes thought the movement sufficiently important to be satirized. This is significant of what the next stage in progress would have been, the direction in which the life-force was striving. But the world was not yet ready, and feminism died down for the time.

As late as the year 1869 John Stuart Mill, that *anima naturaliter Christiana*, wrote of the subjection of women as the last remaining of the slaveries of the past : " The social subordination of women stands out an isolated fact in modern social institutions ; a solitary breach of what has become their fundamental law ; a single relic of an old world of thought and practice exploded in everything else, but retained in the one thing of most universal interest ; as if a gigantic dolmen, or a vast temple of Jupiter Olympius, occupied the site of St. Paul's and received daily worship, while the surrounding Christian churches were only resorted to on fasts and festivals. This entire discrepancy between one social fact and all those which accompany it, and the radical opposition between its nature and the progressive movement

which is the boast of the modern world, and which has successively swept away everything else of an analogous character, surely affords, to a conscientious observer of human tendencies, serious matter for reflection." Mill proceeds to show how this general subordination of women to men has its worst consequences in the married state, admitting of horrible tyranny of selfish and cruel men over their wives, while hindering the growth of true love, even between good husbands and wives: "It often happens that there is the most complete unity of feeling and community of interests as to all external things, yet the one has as little admission into the internal life of the other as if they were common acquaintance. Even with true affection, authority on the one side and subordination on the other prevent perfect confidence."¹ And how can there be perfect love without perfect confidence?

But since Mill wrote, another principle of the relation between men and women has been growing and gaining strength, that of co-operation.² The co-operation of man with woman and of men with women, latent and implied in early Christianity, though obscured and repressed by the more or less necessary accommodation of the new religion to the prevalent customs, is now manifesting itself as one of the master-principles of human evolution. It found some years ago a some-

¹ *The Subjection of Women.*

² So C.O.P.E.C., *The Relation of the Sexes*, p. 18: "What is actually coming into sight is a new relationship between men and women, a relationship of co-operation, . . . into which the specialized biological factors of sex will not enter, but which will be none the less a sex relationship."

what inchoate expression in Olive Schreiner's notable book, *Woman and Labour*, being summed up in the trenchant claim which the author put into the mouth of awakening womanhood: "We take all labour for our province." Granted that there may be for a season some departments of the world's work which belong specially to man and some specially to woman, yet in the comprehensive control and direction of the destinies of mankind men and women will henceforth think and plan and act together. And as men and women do thus unite and co-operate, there comes a new confidence, a new zest, an added happiness and effectiveness, making many feel that it is indeed a joy to be alive.

This general principle of co-operation is most intensively active and concentrated between one man and one woman in the married state. Either will endeavour to understand and enter into the other's life, and to attain unanimity in the affairs of the family. Since, however, opinions may differ, both should be willing to yield from time to time, and in many matters one of the partners will have to decide for the two. John Stuart Mill writes wisely about this aspect of matrimony: "It is quite true that things which have to be decided every day, and cannot adjust themselves gradually, or wait for a compromise, ought to depend on one will; one person must have their sole control. But it does not follow that this should always be the same person. The natural arrangement is a division of powers between the two; each being absolute in the executive branch of their own department, and any change of system and prin-

ciple requiring the consent of both.”¹ When the will of one does override that of the other in any matter which seems important, the one who prevails should be eager to compensate by yielding in other things and, if possible, to meet the other’s wishes in different ways.

In one sense, it may be argued, the wife, as representing the home, may usually have to accommodate herself to the husband as representing the work of the world. For the home should, in the vast majority of cases, be established near the work, rather than work sought in the neighbourhood of the home. For the smaller should be adapted to the greater, rather than the greater to the smaller. But there is another side to this. Healthy conditions for the rearing of children are generally of more moment than efficiency in manufactures, though the latter does, of course, affect the former. The conditions of industry should be modified far more than they have been to suit the requirements of homes with children; for example, through the substitution of garden-cities for industrial towns, even if the reduction of the size of industrial areas temporarily increase a little the cost of output. The total gain in national vitality would before long outweigh the slight industrial loss.

As to religion, women cannot as a class be accounted as markedly inferior to men in spiritual experience and capacity, as the records of both missions and mysticism make evident. Is it not time that womanhood, as well as manhood, should be dignified with St. Paul’s wonderful appellation, “the glory of God,”

¹ *The Subjection of Women.*

and therefore be invited to contribute to the thought and practice of the Christian Church ?

Certainly there must be subjection, as the Apostle said, subjection of one child of God to another. In any association there is a call for humility and even obedience of the members among themselves. Each must yield to the other in that respect in which the other is superior. This is especially so in marriage, to which intimate harmony in vital concerns is essential. And in obeying one another we shall learn and gain one from another, supplementing our private deficiencies by means of the superiorities of our fellows and mates. Thus subjection is swallowed up in mutual accommodation and assistance in the tasks and ideals of human life.

III

Any discussion of the ethics of marriage from a Christian standpoint would be seriously incomplete that shirked the desperately urgent, but exceedingly delicate, question of what has come to be known as "birth-control," or more accurately as "conception control" or "contraception."

This is advocated on various grounds :

(1) The eugenic, to prevent the breeding of degenerates and those with tendencies to insanity or deformity or disease ; also to reverse the so-called " differential birth-rate," so that in future the superior may have more children than the inferior.

(2) The humanitarian, to reduce the misery of wretchedly poor and overcrowded homes, with haggard

and exhausted mothers, puny and sickly children, toiling and ill-fed fathers.

(3) The publicly economic, to prevent the propagation of multitudes of incapables and inferior workers, likely to become a huge financial burden on the State.

(4) The personally economic, to restrict the number of children to what the parents can afford so as to give them a good and suitable upbringing.

(5) The medical, to ensure a due interval between births for the sake of the mother's health and more adequate attention to the needs of each baby ; also to avoid childbearing when for any reason it is likely to be dangerous to the mother.

(6) The international, to prevent the overpopulation which causes wars, and the undue increase of races with lower culture.

(7) The spiritual, to enable man and wife to live in closest intimacy, without the unnatural strain of constantly repressing a vital impulse, but with the sacramental union whereby their love is physically sustained.

The arguments against conception-control are as follows :

(1) The methods in vogue are dangerous to health, besides being insecure.

(2) The dissemination of contraceptive information would increase immorality, since young women are largely deterred from this by the fear of having illegitimate babies.

(3) Contraception would tend to transform wedlock

into licensed concubinage, both by reducing child-bearing and by removing a strong motive for chastity in marriage, and the "mortification and self-restraint" which "is a condition of all noble and worthy living."¹

(4) Contraception, being the separation of function from use, is intrinsically wrong. Bishop Gore, before the Special Committee appointed by the National Council of Public Morals in 1925, went so far as to class it with unnatural vice, saying that he would not know how to reply to the advocates of the latter if contraception were allowed.²

The opponents of contraception, when asked to put forward other methods for dealing with the evils and dangers against which it is directed, mention, first, moral control based on religion; secondly, rehousing and general improvement of the conditions of the very poor. Thus, with regard to the second, Bishop Gore urges: "Let every one who cares for the worth of humanity, or the honour of his country, be a zealous and persistent reformer, and let him shrink from no hardship or unpopularity in pressing upon Parliament and upon municipal authorities and individual owners of house-property the need of drastic and persistent action."³ Lady Barrett, M.D., in her evidence before the Birth-Control Commission, gave it as her opinion that "the reform of the conditions in which women of the poorer classes live is far more

¹ The words of Bishop Gore in *The Prevention of Conception*, published by *The League of National Life*.

² *The Ethics of Birth-Control*, p. 83. In the above-mentioned pamphlet, written since, he does not say this.

³ *The Prevention of Conception*, p. 25.

important for equalizing the fertility of different classes than the spread of contraceptive knowledge." ¹

In the C.O.P.E.C. report on the *Relation of the Sexes* we find sketched three different attitudes held by members of the Commission, each party claiming that its view is consistent with Christianity: (1) that contraception is wholly and always wrong and never to be practised under any circumstances; (2) that it is undesirable, but necessary in order to mitigate grave evils such as the prolific breeding of the unfit and desperately poor; (3) that it is permissible, and even desirable in the majority of marriages, in order that over-frequent childbearing may be prevented without undue strain and consequent nervous irritability. It must not be assumed that those who adopt this third attitude are necessarily oblivious of the need of the subordination of the physical to the moral and the spiritual. For even Dr. Marie Stopes, the protagonist of contraception, insists on a measure of self-restraint.

We do not discover any direct pronouncement on this subject by Our Lord, nor elsewhere in the New Testament, except that St. Paul does seem to consider the function as lawful in marriage apart from the purpose of procreation (1 Cor. vii. 5). We must bring to bear upon the problem Christ's general moral outlook—His ardent love for children, His hatred of cruelty, His human sympathy with human nature, and His soaring idealism. We have to ponder both what He did say, and what He is not recorded as

¹ *The Ethics of Birth-Control*, p. 85. Lady Barrett is careful to say she is not totally opposed to any use of contraception.

saying, and the relative emphasis implied on different sorts of moral obliquity and deficiency. And we must use our own intelligence and moral sense.

It appears irrefutable that the position of condemning absolutely all interference with the procreative function is morally and socially untenable. The wickedness of bringing babies into the world to be idiots, insane, deformed, repulsive horrors to sight and thought, or to exist and probably to die in want and filth, outweighs any moral wrong there may be in artificially inhibiting conception. Moreover, the consequences of this wickedness threaten national and racial degradation and ruin. The only question seems to be whether sterilization, even compulsory sterilization, would not be preferable to what is usually understood by the term "contraception."

We may reply to the above-mentioned arguments against contraception briefly as follows :

(1) The allegation that the methods in vogue are injurious to health and insecure does not carry much weight. We may expect them to be improved by medical science, which has already wrought such wonders in other departments ; and in any case the danger in their use to the mother's health can hardly exceed that of unlimited childbearing.

(2) The argument that instruction in these methods will lead to a great increase of irregular unions resembles that once employed against abolishing the death-penalty for theft. The fear of consequences is less of a deterrent to wrongdoing than used to be supposed. People are carried away by violent impulses in seeming oblivion of the risks. I find it

difficult to believe that normal young women would hasten surreptitiously to procure knowledge of contraceptive methods from their married acquaintances, and then offer themselves as mistresses and prostitutes. We have to trust to the natural instinct to chastity, strengthened and developed by moral and religious influences, not to the maintenance of ignorance, to keep our maidenhood pure.

(3) To the contention that contraception would remove a limit on incontinence, it may be replied that frequent pregnancy hardly constitutes such a limit, and "mortification and self-restraint" will have higher ethical value when not enforced by fear of consequences.

(4) It is surely a very weak and dangerous argument against unnatural vice to call it separation of function from use. There is in most a deep-rooted horror for that, such as there is not for union in the married state when there is no likelihood or possibility of offspring. Those who use this argument apparently do not recognize the so-called sacramental aspect of bodily functions, such as the sacramental value of the family meal, the physical satisfactions expressing and nourishing the higher elements in the personality.¹

As to the proposed alternatives, it is obvious that just those people whose fertility it is necessary for eugenic and humanitarian reasons to curb are least capable of moral control. Let us consider the following, culled from that poignant volume, *Maternity: Letters from Working Women*: "For fifteen years I was in a

¹ Bishop Gore in *The Ethics of Birth-Control*, p. 74: "I very much deprecate the casual and easy use of the word 'sacramental.'"

very poor state of health owing to continual pregnancy. As soon as I was over one trouble, it was all started over again. . . . I have had four children and ten miscarriages." It would be still more hopeless in the yet more awful tale of married cruelty and misery quoted by Mr. Bertrand Russell before the Birth-Control Commission.¹

The other plan, of rehousing on an immense scale, coupled with a general raising of the standard of living among the very poor, is doubtless in itself morally and socially desirable, in spite of the huge financial cost. But it is questionable whether even garden-cities and liberal maternity endowment would do much to reduce the fertility of inferior strains. Besides, the misery and wrong and degeneration are such as to call for speedier remedies.

It is more difficult to decide as to the legitimacy of contraception in ordinary marriages. Certainly the avoidance of parentage by the healthy and fit ought to be denounced. But one condition of an effective appeal to the educated to have fair-sized families is the abolition of the class-consciousness which confines the children of the educated to certain occupations, as I point out in the chapter on *The Eugenic Problem*. Supposing, then, that the disabilities attaching to fair-sized families may be removed, we must rely on the natural desire for children and the sense of social duty as motives for procreation, not on the prohibition of artificial checks.

But should checks be used at all, if only to spread out the births? There is an instinctive repugnance

¹ *The Ethics of Birth-Control*, p. 123.

to interference with natural processes, especially with the sacred processes of reproduction, which we must respect. On the other hand, we do well in this matter to remember Christ's command not to judge, to abstain from criticism on well-intentioned people who think and act and feel differently from ourselves, except when the moral issues are very clear. Those who love deeply will know what best fosters love. Yet some sublimation of the physical passion is undoubtedly desirable, and probably more and more as love develops. I would support this with two quotations :

(1) Mr. A. G. Tansley writes : " Short of the sexual act, we are in the region of practically pure affective ends, and these are often made the subject of infinite elaboration and diversification, as the *libido*, unable to pursue the conation to its proper end, seeks hither and thither for an adequate outlet. Thus we pass down, through various kinds of love-making and philandering, to the most superficial flirtation. Any of these may be taken as ends when the complete process is truncated." ¹

(2) That love-making between husband and wife may be thus satisfactory in itself is evidenced by Miss Maude Royden's account of the life of a certain married couple : " They say that they have not found this way of life a strain, and are quite convinced that it is for them the right way to live. They do not deny each other physical caresses or nearness." ²

After all, has not Christ given us guidance in this matter ? Some strange sayings of His flash across our

¹ *The New Psychology and its Relation to Life*, p. 170.

² *The Ethics of Birth-Control*, p. 95.

consciousness : " All men cannot receive this saying, but they to whom it is given. . . . There are eunuchs who have made themselves eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven's sake. He that is able to receive it, let him receive it." Dr. Moffatt translates this last sentence : " Let anyone practise it for whom it is practicable." Christ is telling us not to expect moral miracles of continence from the relatively unspiritual. But He declares that the sexual nature may be wholly subdued to the achievement of Divine purposes and ideals. Granted that He was primarily thinking of an unwedded life of apostleship in His Name, yet the principle indicated is wholly applicable to the state of wedlock also. For surely in the love of wedlock is the Kingdom of Heaven realizable.

For some, as Christ said, this is not forthwith practicable ; though they may be invited to grow towards it. We must not forbid the natural man those alleviations which his nature, being not yet spiritually sanctified, demands, in order to save him from hideous crime, and himself and family from misery, and society from degeneration. But we may little by little educate him and point him to the ideals of Christ. For all the heat and violence of physical passion is not too much to feed and be absorbed into and transmuted in the flame and brightness of a holy love.

IV

Marriage is the source of deep happiness, the happiness of the natural affections between husband and

wife, between parents and children, between brothers and sisters. Out of marriage arises also the sorrow of the affections, almost inevitably the sorrow that comes with bereavement, when mortal life has run its full course. There are also bitterer sorrows, due to misfortunes, such as untimely death, crippling, deformity, the wrongdoing of one member of the family. We should strive to protect the happiness of marriage from avoidable troubles and injuries. But there is one trouble which in times past has been regarded as unavoidable if marriage fulfils its essential and necessary function.

We read in Genesis that a curse was laid on Eve for her disobedience : " In sorrow shalt thou bring forth children." On that account the obstetrical use of anæsthetics used to be deprecated, as an interference with a Divine ordinance. We also read that Yahweh said on the same occasion to the serpent : " Thou shalt bruise his heel," that is, bite the feet of man. Is it therefore wrong to try to evade that curse by exterminating poisonous snakes ? Sins produce painful consequences that continue from one generation to another. But it is surely not forbidden to try to stop these consequences, provided that we cease to commit the sins which caused them ; as when we try to cure the ill-health due to drunkenness both in the drunkard's children and in himself, at the same time reforming the drunkard and training his children in temperance. So I believe that our Heavenly Father wishes us to relieve maternity of its pains by means of the medical science which He has taught us. Once, indeed, in the Gospel according to St. John, we read of Christ

comparing the imminent grief and the subsequent joy of the disciples with the similar experience of motherhood ; but we are not justified in treating an illustration as a moral law. On the contrary, we learn that He relieved suffering and taught others to relieve it wherever and whenever possible. Certainly He called on His disciples to be prepared for great hardships and sacrifices, but He did not wish them to make the time of their fellowship with Him in the flesh one of severe discipline or self-mortification, but rather a time of untroubled happiness so far as that was practicable (Mark ii. 19). On this analogy, we should endeavour to shield the sacred intimacies of the home from needless pains and troubles, since thereby men and women will be stronger and braver to endure hardships and make self-sacrifices in their conflict with difficulties and evils in the outer world.

We may refer again to the collection of letters entitled *Maternity*, if we wish for glimpses of the horrors of childbearing among the wives of the poor—harassed and weary mothers, in close and comfortless little rooms, hardly securing an imperfect privacy, wracked and tortured and brought near to death, with insufficient and sometimes inefficient midwifery and medical aid. So do they perform their necessary function in the continuance of mankind from generation to generation. The proud tradition of chivalry whereby men have been taught to spare women, appears futile and hypocritical in their neglect to provide such assistance and alleviation to the mothers of the race as money and expert medical science are capable of affording and do afford to those who pay. Doubtless,

really adequate provision for all childbearing women—fully equipped maternity hospitals in which all mothers could remain at least a fortnight and longer if needed, together with domestic aid for their homes during their absence—would constitute a big national expense, though even in money it might be counterbalanced by the reduction of the bill for ill-health and the increased efficiency of a stronger new generation. But alcoholic drink and vices and luxuries cost far more. Well-meaning, kindly-disposed, but self-indulgent bachelors and spinsters, who do not know about all this, or if they have been told do not see what they can do to amend matters, and so put the unpleasant subject out of their minds, could be invited to help, if only by a contribution of a fifth or a tenth of their idly spent income, so as to save women from misery and torture and years of impaired vitality. Money is required for this, as for so many human needs, and it is difficult to decide how far it should be asked for in charity or demanded in taxation. But obtained it must be, even if some have temporarily to forgo legitimate and desirable comforts. It is a moral issue of the first magnitude, and until it is met, neither the moral nor the physical nor the religious aspect of the common life can be altogether prosperous and happily progressive.

It is natural to be bitter and resentful that the deep and satisfying happiness of married life should be marred by the woe of childbearing; like a lovely picture, full of gracious forms and exquisite colours, with a big ugly gash in the heart of its beauty. The Hebrew explanation is attractive that it is due to

some original sin, or, we might prefer to say, to some vice or vices of civilization. But the suffering varies greatly in amount, and cases do occur in which there is none or almost none; especially, it is reported, in primitive peoples, but also in civilized nations.¹ The so-called curse is by no means universal in its incidence. This fact should embolden us to attempt to remove it completely, partly by seeking more healthful methods of living, partly by utilizing those anæsthetics which the Almighty has allowed His children to discover.

The more sympathetically sensitive and imaginative we grow, the more does the beloved's pain hurt worse than one's own. It seems to separate, to remove from complete intimacy, especially if the pain be of a sort that the lover cannot feel. Novelists—for instance, Tolstoy in *Anna Karennina*, and Mr. Upton Sinclair in *The Jungle*—have made such a tragic, or rather melodramatic, use of childbirth, as to scare with terror and petrify with horror, not only young women, but men; and men more than women, inasmuch as it appears to them an unknowable awfulness. There is a real peril here, that when the wife is safely through and prepared to be happy with her infant, the husband should remain horror-struck, a victim of agonizing mania, feeling himself cut off from the happiness because debarred from the pain, conscious now of ruining the wedded and parental joy into

¹ Mrs. Drake, M.D., in *Maternity without Suffering*, contends that very nearly painless childbirth is attainable without drugs, and refers to Dr. Holbrook's *Parturition without Pain*, and Dr. Stockholm's *Tokology*. "Both cite the cases of the American Indians and of women of heathen lands to exemplify their statements of painless childbirth" (p. 29).

which he is invited to enter. Torment driving into madness grips him. He longs and longs unavailingly to suffer as his beloved did, perhaps not realizing that he is even now in mental anguish worse than her bodily anguish was at its height. May God have mercy on such a father and his wife and child, revealing to him His equal and full participation in the agony of mankind !

This torturing thorn in humanity's tenderest flesh must be drawn out. This horrifying spectre must be bidden avaunt. It is perfectly impossible to do so by means of anæsthetics, such as that which gives "twilight sleep." These should be available for all mothers throughout the whole world, though perhaps not always used, if it be true what distinguished gynæcologists aver, that "pain in childbirth is a morbid symptom, . . . a perversion of nature caused by modes of living not consistent with the most healthy condition of the system."¹ We may also cherish a hope that as the soul develops spiritually it will readapt the body in such wise that natural processes will cease to be painful. Meanwhile it is imperative, for the sake of health and happiness and sanity, to use those means which we possess for making maternity and paternity consistently happy functions. Untroubled happiness in the home will make men and women stronger to take up their crosses, for Christ and humanity, bravely enduring in fellowship whatsoever pains and sorrows may in that high service from time to time befall them.

¹ Dr. Dewees, quoted by Mrs. Drake in *Maternity without Suffering*, p. 27.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FAMILY

I

IT is remarkable that we find so little in the Gospels concerning the value and obligations of home life. There are just these allusions: After the boy Jesus had been lost in Jerusalem and found in the Temple, we read that He went back with His parents to Nazareth and was "subject unto them" ("did as they told him"—Moffatt); He criticized the Pharisees for encouraging men not to support their fathers and mothers; in His dying moments He commended His Mother and the Beloved Disciple to one another for mutual comfort. On the other hand, He bade men not to let family ties keep them from service in His following: "He that loveth father or mother more than Me, is not worthy of Me." This is illustrated by His urgent words to the man who asked leave to "bury" his father,¹ and to the other who wished to say farewell to his relations before accompanying Him. Once He spoke as if He looked to see individual families swallowed up in a vast family composed of all human beings that accepted His message, with God as supreme Father: "Whosoever shall do the will of My Father who is in Heaven, the same is My brother and sister and mother." In similar strain, He promised to those who left brothers, sisters,

¹ For the meaning of this see *The Ethics of the Gospel*, pp. 56, 57.

mother, father, children, for His sake, many more to take their place even in this world—friends, that is, who would give them the same intimate affection.

But Christ did this honour to the family, that He used its terms as symbols of the ideal relation between God and human beings, and of human beings one to another. The name “father” He consecrated to express the generative and sustaining love of God; the name “son” to express man’s dependence on God and the trusting love he should have for Him; the name “brother” to express the mutually serving love of human beings for one another. He says that human fathers, imperfect and sinful as they are, “yet know how to give good gifts unto their children,” implying that even inferior homes bear some resemblance to, manifest some dim reflection of, the holy and transcendent love of God for mankind.

That the family should be thus implicitly declared to be the divinest thing in ordinary, non-spiritual, humanity, that which more than aught else in the world resembles God and the ideal relation of God to men, and of men to one another, points to the value of the family as preparing souls for the moral life of devotion to God’s purposes and the spiritual life which begins in mortality and is fulfilled in eternity. Though Christ did not say so, or is not recorded as saying so, it is deducible from His teaching that the family should be preserved and developed as a training-ground for the ideal life. Indeed, it fosters those qualities which St. Paul called the fruits of the Spirit—love, joy, peace, good temper, kindness, generosity, fidelity, gentleness, self-control (Gal. v. 22, 23—

Moffatt). We may add that recent psychology has pointed out the religious importance of the family. For in loving and reverencing father and mother, the child forms the capacity for loving and reverencing God, the filial disposition thus preparing for the religious disposition. Parents should be told that their children's power of apprehending God in a Christian way depends partly on how far they themselves are Christian in their treatment of their children.

From all this it follows, as well as from obvious reasons of health and common charity, that a Christian society will provide good conditions for the family. In the distribution of wealth, in the provision of suitable houses in suitable situations, in the apportionment of the available domestic labour, it will contribute to the creation of good homes. But owing to the selfishly individualistic character of society, we must confess that home life has not received its due treatment. The needs of a family consisting of father and mother and young children far exceed those of most independent adults, but its power to meet these needs is on the average but little greater, and in some ways it is more at the mercy of circumstances. Therefore, the community is morally bound to do more for families than it does for individuals. It should be borne in mind that the rearing of children is not a mere private venture, of no particular social importance, but that it is work for the nation and the human race, since upon its being done depends the continuance of the nation and race, and upon its being done well depend, in a very large measure, their welfare and progressive evolution.

Already there has been some practical acknowledgment of this obvious truth : in the public provision of elementary education, in the remission of taxation for men with children, in allowances for the dependents of men on active service. But the principle calls for much greater and wider application, that the resources of society may be morally and rationally applied to the various and varying needs and possibilities of human life.

II

The poverty of a St. Francis, embraced from a lofty motive for a great ideal, is a holy and sanctifying state. The poverty of the large family of a labourer, forced on them by the callous rigidity of an economic system actuated by self-interest and competition, is cramping and devitalizing. We have no right to impose on children this involuntary asceticism. St. Francis had at least the beauty of the country, with its birds and flowers, to refresh his soul, and its pure air to invigorate his body ; the youngsters of our great towns have the dreary sights of networks of streets to look at and their vitiated air to breathe.¹ Poverty is most severe and deadening in its incidence upon children and their parents. A brief survey of the facts may help us to realize the situation.

In the year 1900, in this country, the minimum income per week on which it was supposed possible to provide for the physical needs of a family consisting of father and mother and three children, was stated as 21s. 8d. by Mr. Seebohm Rowntree in his book, *Poverty*,

¹ Similarly Canon Barnett, quoted in *C.O.P.E.C.*, vol. iii, p. 111.

a Study of Town Life. He based his estimate on what is known as the "Atwater standard of diet," which allowed 3,500 calories and 125 grams of protein a man per day, and the cheapest workhouse regimen. The dietary requirements of women and young people were taken at the following scale :

For a woman, 0·8 of a man at moderate work.

For a boy between the ages of 14 to 16	0·8
For a girl between the ages of 14 to 16	0·7
For a child between the ages of 10 to 13	0·6
For a child between the ages of 6 to 9	0·5
For a child between the ages of 2 to 5	0·4
For a child under 2	0·3

The diet allowed for children was dearer than that for men in proportion to the number of calories provided, because it was to consist largely of milk. In actual fact, the children of the very poor got little milk, but lived almost entirely on bread and potatoes. Mr. Rowntree allowed 4s. a week for rent, 1s. 9d. for fuel and light, between 20s. and 26s. a head for clothes, including footgear, per annum, and a small sum for household renewals. (The frequently asserted right and womanly appropriateness for women to be ornately and expensively dressed looks strange beside the fact that women performing women's work of motherhood had only twenty-six shillings a year to spend on clothes.) No allowance in these estimates was made for amusements, insurance, trade-union subscriptions, beer, tobacco, medicines, absence owing to sickness, or anything else. Mr. Rowntree discovered that a considerable proportion of the inhabitants of York failed to get this income. He found it quite usual in labourers' households for the food to be about

60 to 65 per cent. of the specified requirements, whereas in thrifty middle-class households it considerably exceeded them. It is probable that in most of these poor homes the man got nearly the proper amount, and his wife and children got less than a half of what they were supposed to need; and rightly so, since if the man's food were much reduced, his earning power would fail. Similar conditions of under-feeding were found by Mr. Rowntree to prevail among the agricultural population, as he showed in his subsequent book, *How the Labourer Lives*. In one home the wife said that she frequently divided the food into two parts, one for her husband, and the other for her children, sometimes getting nothing herself.

Mrs. Pember Reeves made similar investigations in London, without actually measuring the food consumed. She found that in respectable labouring families in regular work, with several children, the total sum expended on food commonly allowed for about 3s. 6d. a week for the father, and 1s. 2d. a week each for mother and children. The overcrowding was very bad. She states the results of this poverty in these words: "The outstanding fact . . . was their puny size and damaged health. . . . The 42 families investigated . . . have had altogether 201 children, but 18 of these were either born dead or died within a few hours. Of the remaining 183 children of all ages, ranging from a week up to sixteen or seventeen years, 39 have died, or over one-fifth. Out of 144 survivors, 5 were actually deficient, while many were slow in intellect or unduly excitable."¹

¹ *Round about a Pound a Week*, pp. 193, 194.

A more widespread inquiry into this subject was conducted, under the auspices of Professor Bowley and Mr. Burnett-Hurst, in the years 1912 and 1913, in the towns of Reading, Northampton, Warrington, and Stanley, and the results were set forth in *Livelihood and Poverty*.

The worst poverty among these towns was found to be in Reading, where 46 per cent. of the children of wage-earners were estimated as belonging to households in which the normal means were insufficient, the standard of diet being very slightly in advance of that used by Mr. Rowntree. A usual wage for labour in Reading was 21s. to 23s. a week, a sum then insufficient, even with the utmost economy, for the support of man and wife and more than two children.

But we cannot be content with such an extremely parsimonious and ascetic method of living for any human creatures as these scales admit. Mr. Rowntree, in the *Human Needs of Labour*, suggested a standard, based on pre-war costs, of 35s. 3d. for a family of five. But only about 9 per cent. of wage-earning men in York before the war received as much as this. Mr. Sidney Webb estimated the total of manual wage-earners in the United Kingdom receiving 35s. a week and upwards as 25 per cent. of the whole. Yet about 40 per cent. of the children of wage-earners were at any one time, and far more would in the course of their existence be, in families comprising more than three children under the school-leaving age.¹

It may be some consolation to learn that the most

¹ Dr. Bowley in *Economica*, quoted by E. Rathbone, *The Disinherited Family*, p. 17.

intense form of this poverty has been markedly less after the war than before. Professor Bowley and Miss Hogg, in the book *Has Poverty Diminished?* point out that the labourer's wage in 1924 in Reading was from 42s. to 48s., equivalent to a pre-war 24s. to 27s. 6d. They add: "While wages have risen towards meeting needs, these needs themselves have fallen towards meeting wages, with the reduction of the number of children. . . . In all the towns together [Reading, Northampton, Warrington, Stanley, Bolton], in 1912-14, more than one out of five children under 14 years old were in households where the normal means of living were insufficient. . . . In 1923-4 the proportion was one in sixteen . . . in the aggregate of the towns, and one in seven in Reading." ¹ This, of course, refers only to the families of employed wage-earners. There is some reason to think that the families of the unemployed are commonly better fed than those of the employed were before the war, because the scale of relief is apportioned to the number of children.

But along with this insufficiency of wages must be considered the enormous national expenditure on alcoholic drink—£160,000,000 per annum before the war, £400,000,000 since, recently reduced to about £300,000,000—an expenditure on tobacco of about £70,000,000, and other huge sums on betting and on other more innocent forms of diversion—the greater part of all this probably out of the pockets of the wage-earning class. How, then, do the poor manage to be as well and strong as they are? And how did they manage to live at all in the early decades of the

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 21.

nineteenth century, when wages were less and the price of bread greater than at the close of the century? These questions seem to demand an answer. In the first place, this immense more or less wasteful expenditure is for the most part kept up by bachelors and spinsters, and by older men and women after their children have begun to earn. The investigators into these domestic budgets found that in the extremely poor households usually little or nothing was spent on drink. Secondly, the children of labourers are on the average much smaller and less vigorous than the children of well-to-do people up to the age of leaving school, but commonly recuperate considerably when they begin to earn money for their own support. Yet to the privations of their childhood some of their lack of vitality and dull-wittedness may probably be attributed. Thirdly, bread is cheap. If we ate only bread and food no dearer than bread, we might get enough calories for 4s. a week, at present prices, and we could manage to keep alive on less than half that quantity, and children under ten years of age might subsist on a quarter of this, that is, on 1s. a week, or even less. But they would not, on such a diet, grow as they should, and would be lamentably deficient in vitality. Then, as to bygone times, a hundred years ago children used to earn from five years old and upwards—in the fields scaring crows, indoors at such occupations as lace-making and glove-making, in factories also. Some got sixpence a week, some a shilling, some as much as 2s. 6d. after a few years. It was not much, but it sometimes made the difference between life and death. Also the mothers earned

more then, to the neglect of their homes. Fourthly, though the purchasing power of wages was on the average less at the beginning of the nineteenth than it had been in the middle of the eighteenth century, it was supplemented for very poor families out of the rates, according to the Speenhamland policy, initiated in 1795. The upper classes were not correspondingly straitened, since bread was much dearer relatively to meat and milk and butter than at the close of the nineteenth century, and houses and domestic service were cheap.¹

But would even Mr. Rowntree's "human needs" standard be enough? There are so many little extras we want for our children: uninteresting things, like tooth-brushes and medicines; delightful things, such as holidays by the sea or among hills and lakes and woods, occasional little outings, various treats and amusements, fruits in their season, toys and picture-books. None of these are very costly or out-of-the-way; just simple little aids to health and happiness. But the expenses mount up and will be found to far exceed the £3 a week for a family of five required for the above-mentioned standard nowadays. Yet have not all children a right to these things? But where is the money to come from?

On the one hand, we have observed that the poverty of families of wage-earners, especially of unskilled labourers, so remarkable in contrast to the great increase in the last hundred years of the average wealth

¹ *Vide* statistics in *The Town Labourer*, by J. L. and B. Hammond, pp. 34 and 307. In 1825, 1 lb. of meat is recorded to have cost 7d., and a stone of bread 2s. 6d.

of the population, is directly due to the postponement of the earning of boys and girls because of compulsory education. The man's wage has acquired greater purchasing power, but the needs depending on it have also become greater when he is a father with young children. On the other hand, we are confronted with a portentous aggregate of useless and even harmful extravagance, to which men and women without children very largely contribute. If we wish to avoid reducing the education of the young, the remedy seems to be some plan for proportioning the income of the family to the number of dependent children. This would give less money for the unmarried to spend on beer and betting, and more money with which parents could purchase milk and holidays for their little ones.

What is to produce the will for such a redistribution? How is Christianity to operate on people's minds so that they will apportion family income to family needs? I reply, mainly by the education of the parental instinct in unselfishness. The love for children, latent if not active in all normal men and women, is to be so developed that bachelors and spinsters will long to see their neighbours' children have good food and happy holidays, and will be ashamed to deny them these in order to gratify their own extravagant cravings. To the parental instinct, thus extended, should be allied the sense of the stewardship of wealth, according to which it is dishonest to waste on ourselves money which is entrusted to us for the general welfare. It remains to devise suitable methods for giving effect to these motives.

One method is that of insurance, the young worker

paying into a common fund until his first child is born, and then receiving sums varying according to the number of his children who have not left school. This is especially suitable to the more individualistic or personal and primitive form of parental impulse ; though the more widely altruistic form of the impulse would have some scope, since those who had no children would be encouraged to feel satisfaction in helping the children of others.

Another method is that of payment out of the national revenue. It is calculated that 5s. a week for each child would cost in this country about £130,000,000 a year. This method would have the advantage of expressing the general responsibility of the nation for the welfare of all its children. Yet I am of opinion that if it were adopted, it would be preferable to raise the money by a tax on the unmarried adults and on childless married couples, rather than by an addition to the ordinary income-tax. For however desirable may be a reduction of the extremes of wealth and poverty, the endowment of motherhood is a distinct issue and should not be confused with the other, one reason being that single childless men and women should be made to realize and helped to fulfil their moral obligation to support the children of others.

A third method is that of the industrial pool. According to this, in every industrial organization a certain proportion of the money due as wages is to be paid into a fund, which will be distributed to the families of the workers proportionately to the number of children in each. This plan would not be exposed,

like the second, to the objections levelled against State management, such as rigidity and extravagance. It would also make it easier to prevent an uneconomical industry from maintaining a parasitic existence in the community by means of family allowances.

It is the third method which has been adopted in France for the majority of industrial workers. Miss Rathbone describes its working there in her epoch-making book, entitled *The Disinherited Family*. She gives this account of the origin of one of these schemes :

“ There is at Grenoble a certain society with a religious basis, ‘ La Ruche populaire de St. Bruno,’ which aims at uniting workers of all classes in the study of social questions, much after the manner, apparently, of our Christian Social Union. At one of its discussions during the war, several workmen employed by Maison Joya complained of the burden weighing on parents of large families and the difficulty they had in making both ends meet. . . . M. Romanet [the managing director of a large firm of ironworkers] considered how it could be ameliorated. He argued that a rise in wages, apart from its cost to industry, would not meet the case. Previous rises had been followed by an increase in the cost of living, which for the man with wife and family to feed and clothe had more than swallowed up the value of the rise, though it left the bachelor with a substantial margin. He concluded that allowances for children were the right solution and persuaded M. Joya to introduce them. . . . It was soon, however, seen that employers would be under a considerable temptation to economize by avoiding the employment of men with families,

and the system might injure just those whom it was intended to benefit. To avoid this, M. Romanet hit on the device of pooling the cost of allowances among the employers joining in the agreement by the formation of a compensation fund for family allowances (*Caisse de compensation pour allocations familiales*, at first called 'sursalaires familiales'). The principle of this is quite simple, though there are many varieties in form and method. The allowances are paid monthly, for the benefit of the dependent children below a certain age, for all the employees of firms belonging to the *Caisse*, and the cost is divided up among these firms according to some agreed principle—usually either in proportion to the total number of their employees, men or women, married or single, or in proportion to the total amount of their wages bill. In addition, some of the *Caisses* pay one or both of the following benefits: a lump sum at the birth of a child (*prime de naissance*); an allowance to the mother while nursing (*prime d'allaitement*).''¹

The system has been more and more widely extended in France, and similar systems have been adopted in Germany, Belgium, and other countries. We may add that some method of proportioning income to family needs is desirable for all workers and earners, whether manual or brain-workers, and at whatever intervals they receive their pay.

Two objections to the general principle may be noted:

(1) It has been argued that already the very poor have too many children; to pay them extra for their children would encourage them to have more.—But

¹ *The Disinherited Family*, pp. 194-196.

this is probably not true. Extreme poverty seems to increase fertility, and comparative affluence to diminish it.

(2) It is argued that by better science and organization it is possible vastly to increase the product of labour so that a man's wage will be sufficient to support quite a numerous family. Already in the U.S.A. wages have far greater purchasing power than in Europe.—Granted that may be so, would it not be better to distribute this increased wealth according to needs? Why should not children receive their full share in the prosperity to be? What is enough for a family with five or six children, is apt to be too much for a single man or woman. If, with the added power of production, we prefer more leisure to more luxury, surely this leisure should be fairly apportioned between families and independent men and women.

A further argument on behalf of differentiating the income of families and independent workers is the need for countering the displacement of men by women in employment. Since the woman-worker normally has no children dependent on her, whereas the majority of men have at one time in their working career, there is a temptation to employers to substitute women for men, since women require less pay. Thus the men have either to reduce their demands to that of single workers or to be unemployed. In neither case can they properly afford to marry and rear children. Similarly the women, though they might prefer matrimony, not unreasonably shrink from the prospect of having to run a household of perhaps five or six on what they now get for their private needs. On the

other hand, if men and women were paid equally for equal work, as is only fair and economical, but the industry or the community provided adequate and substantial additional income for families according to their size, then men would no longer have any special reason for demanding higher pay than women, employers would no longer have any special reason for preferring women to men, and neither men nor women would be deterred from matrimony by the dread of poverty. This applies very much now among the more educated sections of the nation, who are more apt to consider ways and means and to look ahead, for instance, in the educational service, where women displace men because they can manage with less ; but is likely to apply more and more, as women train themselves to do the same work as men and to take more provident views of life. Things are specially hard now for a man of below the average strength, who is yet physically fit to be a father of a family, since he can hardly demand higher wages than women get who are above the average strength, unless he is specially skilled from a long course of training. In brief, the endowment of the family would remove an unfairness in our economic system which makes for the unemployment of men, insufficient income for family needs, and a low birth-rate among the more provident.

III

One of the most serious deficiencies of recent years has been that of houses. " In 1919 the Local Authori-

ties estimated that the number of houses which would be required if the shortage was to be met, and if the slums were to be cleared, amounted to about 800,000 in England and Wales, and about 130,000 in Scotland.”¹ The overcrowding has been terrible and disgusting. Let this instance suffice: “Ex-service man living with his father- and mother-in-law in a two-bedroomed house. Father- and mother-in-law occupy one bedroom; the other contains three beds—the ex-service man, wife, and child in one; two sisters, age 29 and 11, in another; a brother 18 years old in the third.”² Many such could be quoted. Such conditions make for ill-health (especially tuberculosis), infant mortality, and immorality. The mere financial cost to the nation of this overcrowding—in hospitals, the support of invalids and their families, reduced industrial output—is considerable.

The question before us is whether the community—state or borough or municipality—should take general action to provide better houses, or whether it should be left to the private demands of families, which if liberally endowed might be expected to be able to afford an economic rent. But before we attempt an answer, we should notice the special circumstances which have made the housing conditions particularly bad since the war, even at a time when average earnings compared favourably with those of the past. Little building had been accomplished during the war, and houses had got into disrepair. The Government gave a subsidy to encourage the erection of small houses, and invited the building trade unions to

¹ *C.O.P.E.C. Commission Report*, vol. iii, p. 81. ² *Ibid.*, p. 72.

admit semi-skilled workers into their ranks, so as to cope with the need more rapidly. This the unions refused to do, on the ground that the Government would not give them a guarantee of continuous employment for a term of years. The costs mounted up, largely, it was alleged, because of the deliberate policy of the unions in limiting output. While not attempting to apportion blame, we are justified in declaring that both the community and those engaged in the building trade lamentably failed to do unto men what they would have had men do to them. Those who objected to an addition to taxation sufficient, not only for a substantial subsidy for the building of dwelling-houses, but also to insure the operatives against subsequent unemployment, would surely have preferred to pay such additional taxes to being themselves compelled to sleep along with their sons and daughters in one small room for an indefinite period. Similarly the builders, both employers and employees, allowed their comparatively less vital industrial interests and fears to overshadow the really desperate needs of their fellow-countrymen. It also seems that there should have been a check on the utilization of the available building strength of the nation in the erection of less urgently required public or private structures, so-called "luxury building."

It is fairly obvious that in such a season of distress and confusion, the State could produce satisfactory results by drastic and systematic action more speedily than would ensue from the independent economic demands of many thousands of individuals wanting houses. And in general, the housing of a great nation

seems to require a considerable measure of public control, perhaps municipal rather than national, whether or not it be desirable to back it up by public financial assistance. For how else are we to secure the orderly laying-out of towns, the limitation of the size of towns, the restriction of the number of houses in a given area, as well as various sanitary conditions ?

This is not to imply that vast tracts of English country should be marked out as sites for garden-cities. For the solution of the congestion of population in this land will be in large part effected by emigration to the yet sparsely inhabited spaces of the Dominions. There the young democracies can hardly fail to profit by the mistakes of the Motherland, avoiding such hideous and inhuman monstrosities as the dense industrial towns and cities of the age of coal and iron. Surely they will plan and lay out, with an eye to health and beauty and the merry sport of children, cities composed of real homes. The new civilization will be upraised on human foundations.

IV

I remember reading in a newspaper that a mother, during a recent influenza epidemic, was found dead. She had nursed and tended her children, who were all stricken with the malady, though suffering from it herself, till she collapsed and expired. This pathetic instance illustrates the need for some organization to supply occasional domestic service to those families which cannot afford to employ servants or charwomen. Already "in one or two districts a beginning

has been made of a system of 'home helps,' women employed by the local authority to do housework whilst the mother is in bed with the baby."¹ Of course, poor mothers do often obtain such assistance—from their own mothers or their husbands' mothers, from neighbours, from elder children, from their husbands themselves when not at work. But it naturally varies in amount and efficiency and is uncertain. But is it only or even chiefly in cases of definite illness or at childbirth that help is required?

In discussing this and similar disabilities of poverty, we should at the outset avoid assuming, or giving the impression of assuming, that all people have the same or equal needs, whatever their work or position in society. Yet it is because wealth and self-claimed importance arrogate the right to have practically as much as they can purchase of the purchasable commodities of civilization that levelling schemes and demands arise. If only to avert these, it is advisable to consider what are the real and tangible distresses and grievances of the poorer people, and to make such haste as we can to alleviate and meet them.

People at all seasons of life may from time to time need domestic help—in temporary illness, in chronic invalidity, in the infirmity of age. But especially do I plead for mothers with young children, above all with babies, not only during the few days of weakness immediately preceding and succeeding childbirth, but for a period of months or years. Normally a baby requires attention for seven or eight hours a

¹ H. A. Mess, *The Message of C.O.P.E.C.*, p. 40.

day, including the time it is at the breast ; if it is unwell, more than that. Unbroken sleep of the usual duration is hardly possible for the mother ; commonly she is disturbed several times in the night by the infant's cry, and if of nervous temperament may be unable quickly to drop to sleep again. But in spite of this extra labour and frequent disturbance, the ordinary household tasks remain : the meals have to be prepared and cleared away, and the plates and dishes washed up, the rooms should be swept and scrubbed, clothes require washing. Some women consider the total domestic labour of a small house quite exacting enough for them, without a baby, or the complete care of one baby as sufficient occupation by itself. It is not so much the amount of work, since in the literal sense it can hardly be called heavy, nor even the number of hours which it occupies ; it is rather the fact that the mother is tied to it day after day, and night after night, with scarcely a break, and with the ever pressing sense of responsibility, and the obligation to go on with it, even though tired and jaded and ill. Hospital nurses often have much harder and heavier work up to ten or twelve hours a day ; but they do have the other fourteen or twelve hours free, when they can feel themselves clear of all responsibility, and even when at work they may share and, in emergencies, even shelve their responsibility, and they do get a day off once a week, and a yearly holiday, and they may go on the sick-list if they are knocked up. It is not primarily the hard work of mothers that wears them down, but the constant and unrelenting nature of their task, com-

bined often with cramped space and depressing surroundings and sundry anxieties. Indeed, the conditions of motherhood are likely to be more trying for the vigorous and healthy, since it is these who will be most irked by the constant restrictions and the lack of outlet for their energies of body and mind, as they weary of the view from their front and back doors, and long for open spaces and movement and wider interests and freedom and forgetfulness, if only for a day.

As evidence of the necessity of some domestic aid for poor mothers with babies, we may observe that fathers and mothers of the educated classes, who mostly esteem it of immense importance to give their children such education as they received themselves, will yet stint them of this in preference to dispensing with servants altogether, at least when another baby is expected or newly born. The discomfort and probable social disadvantage of the lack of cleanliness that would result seem to them to outweigh even the disadvantage to an elder son or daughter going forth into the world without the schooling that might make a big difference to his or her career. Instances of this may occur to my readers. Is, then, a servantless household with babies so terrible? Certainly there are mitigations among the poorer sections of the community. Relations help, neighbours help, the older children help, the husband helps. In Australia, as I have reason to know, and probably in other newly settled lands, husbands do contribute very valuable assistance to their wives in various household tasks, not least in the care of the children. Then,

of course, poor people are accustomed to a much lower standard of domestic cleanliness and general comfort. But with all these qualifications, the sufferings of motherhood among the poor due to lack of domestic aid may be terrible, as these excerpts from the notable little volume, *Maternity*, illustrate :

(1) " It is owing to working women having to take on household duties too soon after confinement that is responsible for the greatest part of the sufferings we are subject to. What is really wanted is a supply of real good midwives, who could be got for a month to see to all the requirements of the patient and the home, while the woman has a fair chance of recovering."

(2) " The doctor has ordered me to lie down for two hours each day, but that is absolutely impossible for a working man's wife when she has two or three children around her, meals to provide, and the washing and cleaning, etc., to do in the home."

(3) " You need not wonder at women doing all they can to prevent having big families, for there is certainly no rest for mothers, night or day."

(4) " The most difficult thing at the time is securing a woman who is able and willing to do housework, and look after the woman at the same time ; that is to me one of the greatest problems in the Maternity Scheme to-day. If something could be done to organize such women, then it would mean much."

But surely, it may be argued, women were in even harder case when extreme poverty used to drive them out to work in field or factory, or to spend several hours daily in sewing and other occupations at home.

earning a few pence, so as to supplement the small wages of their husbands. There must have been even less cleanliness and comfort in those days, and more likelihood of detrimental strain before and after childbirth. There is truth in that, though there is another side to it. To some extent, outside work does break the monotony of domestic routine and give occasional escape from the cage. Mill-girls, when they marry, have been found to prefer to continue their weaving or spinning, paying an older woman to look after the home and mind the children ; and that, not merely for the sake of the extra money, but also because they dislike being tied to the house. Women in the country seem to enjoy and to be better for a few weeks of hay-making or harvesting. Certainly all heavy labour should be discouraged, if not prohibited, for women near the birth of a child ; but if adequate assistance could be obtained for them in their housework, occasional outside, especially out-of-doors, employment would benefit many mothers, both physically and mentally.

And even when there is no young baby, with its frequent cries and needs, yet the mother has to stay at home day after day, week after week, and month after month, as winter turns to spring, and spring to summer, and the delights and beauties of nature call. She has to remain at her post, cooped up in the little house in the dreary street, providing the routine of meals for husband and children, keeping the place from becoming too dirty, attending to the endless little wants of the family. Is it right and just that mothers, whose work is of all kinds of

work the most continuous, should of all workers have the least holidays? Do they never sigh and yearn for seaside or woodland or breezy moorland in the summer sunshine, perhaps known happily in girlhood—to escape thither for a brief while, ere autumn descends with its chill and gloom? Granted that the occupation of motherhood is especially engrossing and satisfying, it does not follow that there should be no break in it, no getting away from it, no large opportunities for exercising other faculties and interests. To refuse these is to risk making it a joyless drudgery, a career to be shunned and loathed. In a Christian civilization everyone will have a holiday, even mothers. Would it be too much to add, “especially mothers”?

Yet much has of recent years been done to relieve the monotony of existence among the poorer classes, particularly in the country. We may think in this connection of Women’s Institutes, parochial entertainments, char-à-banc expeditions, wireless installations, even in cottages. All this is to the good, but it benefits mainly the women who are at the time least overwhelmed and fettered by household cares. What is wanted is some system of domestic aid which will relieve mothers entirely of their duties during several hours in the day and during several days in the year, affording both frequent recreation and regular holidays. This would be an admirable field for the exercise of Christian service on the part of women, including educated women of leisure, one such taking charge of a home for these hours or days; in the one case, while the mother goes out or lies down to rest; in the second case, while she goes off to the

sea or to stay with friends, with or without her husband. There is a limit to what can be done in the way of health-visiting, bringing medicines and giving advice ; something more substantial is required for the relief of tired bodies and irritated nerves and jaded minds. Christ said that He came not to be ministered unto but to minister ; and we have this humble ministry illustrated by the washing of the disciples' feet. Why should not ladies from comfortable homes undertake for a week or a fortnight to wash and feed their poorer neighbours' children, while the mothers enjoy a real care-free holiday, by themselves, or with their new-born infants, or with their husbands, to return sunburnt and jolly ? This appears a most natural, and indeed practically inevitable, application of Christianity to modern society. There might be sisterhoods, by no means occupying the full time of their members, of married and unmarried, of young and old, of busy and leisured, for this beneficent purpose. (Not that men need necessarily be debarred from such service, if they have an inclination to it, since some men enjoy playing with children and could well manage a household of little boys.) It would be a glorious and satisfying form of service, well repaid by the delight and gratitude of the recipients.

Yet beyond all this lies the general problem of the burden of housework, which it behoves Christian moralists seriously to lay to heart and strenuously to grapple with. Our Lord Himself invites us to do so by His gentle rebuke of Martha and reassuring commendation of Mary, thereby indicating that domestic toil and fuss must yield to the higher and more central

values of religion and friendship. We do well to invoke science to reduce labour. Much, for instance, might be done in the distribution of, not only light, but heat, by electric current. Yet it is difficult to imagine a multiplication of domestic efficiency equivalent to that afforded by the power-loom and the mass production of motor-cars. Some economy of time and labour may be achieved by the introduction of more communal modes of living—common kitchens, dining-halls, nurseries, for groups of houses ; though traditions of privacy render people slow to accept these. It is easy to suggest the simplification of meals ; but even so-called simple dinners take time and trouble both in the preparation and in the subsequent washing-up. And we naturally recoil from any proposal to reduce the standard of cleanliness, to which so much toil is devoted. Sometimes we may long for a sort of Paradise, in which we shall live on various delicious and nourishing fruits, and bathe in open-air pools, and sleep on beds of moss or leaves. How far any approach to such a condition is practicable, it is not within our present purpose to conjecture. The primary necessity is to attain a spiritual view of life—to consider how we, as children of God, are to live and develop, and to estimate the relation of comfort to that. We have to frame our questions aright, and then patiently seek answers to them : questions such as the relation of diet, clothing, shelter, to that many-sided growth which God intends for us ; also how these material adjuncts of life are to be provided and distributed by Christian service and good will.

A large field here lies before mankind for exploration. Charity, science, the adventurous spirit, moderation and common sense, aspirations to vigour and freedom and beauty, must all contribute. Truly a strange combination of magnificent idealism and homely commonplaces. But what is idealism worth if it will not stoop to consider the lowliest matters? Meanwhile, there is much that we can do, out of sheer sympathy and kindness, to give rest and recreation to the harassed and weary mothers of the poor.

CHAPTER IX

THE EUGENIC PROBLEM

I

No survey of social questions would be adequate that did not include the problem and programme of eugenics. The danger apprehended is, briefly, racial degeneration owing to the greater fertility of the inferior stocks and the lesser fertility of the superior. The problem is how to reverse this process, so that the superior shall have more children than the inferior, and that consequently the race shall evolve in general capacity and particularly in those qualities which appear the most valuable. In the eyes of some of the exponents of eugenics the subject appears to overshadow all others. For they argue that since heredity determines the capacity for life, and since the development of the capacity in individuals during their lifetime has but slight and dubious influence on the capacity transmitted to their offspring, therefore the surest, most rapid, and perhaps only effective, method of improving human life is to select hereditary capacities.

Education and moral training and social reform develop existing capacities and increase their usefulness, but the extent of this development and increase of usefulness is limited by the capacities themselves. We can overpass the limit only by acquiring better capacities, and that must be by selecting them from among the capacities contained in potential parents,

compelling or inducing those with the better capacities to have more children, and those with the inferior to have fewer or none.

The urgency of the problem arises from the recent extraordinary diminution in the birth-rate of the wealthier and more educated, and the comparatively slight reduction in the birth-rate of the poorer and less educated, so that of late the former has been about half the latter. Once, it is thought, there was little or no such disparity. Mr. Carr-Saunders writes as follows: "The indications are that in England before the beginning of the last century the richer classes had at least as many children as the poorer classes. Evidence from other European countries goes to show that the former classes had more children, and this may have been so also in England."¹ Dr. Killick Millard notes that the birth-rates in Hampstead (a relatively healthy and well-to-do district) and in Shoreditch (a relatively unhealthy and poor district) were in 1881 respectively 30 and 31 per thousand, but in "1914 the Hampstead birth-rate had fallen to 14·8, whilst that of Shoreditch remained at the old figure." Professor J. A. Thomson quotes this and continues: "The decrease is much more marked in the upper and middle classes than among the poor, much more marked in certain occupations and vocations than in others."² Dr. Stevenson³ gave this table of the births in 1911 per 1,000 married men under 55 years of age:

¹ *Population*, p. 109.

² In *The Control of Parenthood*, edited by Sir James Marchant, p. 18.

³ Chief Professional Officer of the General Register Office (England and Wales).

1. Upper and middle class	119
2. Intermediate	132
3. Skilled workmen	153
4. Intermediate	158
5. Unskilled workmen	213 ¹

Will not such a difference of fertility, if continued, lead in a few generations to national decadence, and, if imitated by the other nations of the world, to the decadence of mankind?

From the above statistics it must not be inferred that the actual upper and middle classes are decreasing in number relatively to the lower. On the contrary, their numbers are continually being recruited from the classes below them. The brilliant boy of humble parentage climbs the social ladder, thus impoverishing the class in which he was born, and having established himself as a member of the educated and directing class or classes, then begets fewer children than he would have had if he had been brought up a manual worker earning a weekly wage. As Dr. F. C. Schiller trenchantly puts it: "Social promotion is the reward of whatever merits a society chooses to recognize. What degree of merit is recognized, and how highly it is rewarded, varies somewhat in different communities, but in a general way it may be said that the barriers of class-distinctions have everywhere been broken down and that ability—of the sort, of course, that each society values—has no longer any serious difficulty in rising. But its reward is also its capital punishment. For as it rises it passes from a social region in which the birth-rate is relatively high and

¹ *The Declining Birth-Rate*, published by the National Council of Public Morals, p. 353.

the prospects of parentage are comparatively good to others where the birth-rate gets lower and lower. The higher it gets, therefore, the more it tends to be sterilized. Thus the particular kind of ability a society recognizes, the cream the society wants, is always rising to the top ; but when it gets there, it is always being skimmed off and cast away. Could anything be more fatuously suicidal than such an organization of society ? ”¹

Various customs and institutions have contributed to this apparent reversal of natural selection. One, according to Dr. Schiller, is monogamy. When kings and nobles were allowed numerous wives and many of the poorest men had consequently to remain celibate, the upper classes naturally had more children than the lower. This sort of selective breeding has, he declares, been going on till recently in some savage tribes. Thus he quotes from Sir H. H. Johnston's *Uganda Protectorate*, concerning the Busoga natives : “ The race is being saved by a few notable chiefs who are marvellous getters of children. The great chief Luba is still a vigorous man of perhaps sixty, and has had more than one hundred stalwart sons, each of whom has become the father of a numerous progeny. So that Luba, when he dies, will probably be the progenitor of a thousand children. Another old chief of Nilotic race is now past ninety, and is said to be the father of a thousand children, more or less. It has been, in fact, very much the custom in Busoga for the chiefs, who, being at all times well-nourished, were well suited to be ‘sires,’ to impress all the young

¹ *Eugenics and Politics*, pp. 79, 80.

women of the district into their harems. . . . Among the peasants infant mortality is terrible. It is rare that a peasant woman succeeds in rearing more than one child." ¹

Another factor in civilization apparently making for the survival of the less fit is charity, including all efforts and schemes for promoting the health and physical well-being of the poorer classes. For, on the whole, wealth seems to indicate superior ability, and poverty inferior ability, since even rich idlers probably inherit some of the capacity for industry and cleverness by which their parents or ancestors got their money. When, therefore, the rich give to the poor, they are helping to keep alive some of the children of inferior stock, while possibly depriving their own children or collateral heirs of wealth which might have been used for the rearing of a more numerous progeny. And not only direct giving, but almost any form of social service or reform, comes under the same eugenic ban. Sanitation, public hospitals, the provision of food and other necessities of life to the unemployed and those incapacitated through sickness, all tend to prevent the dying-out of inferior stocks ; and in so far as these objects are financed by money obtained from wealthier people, especially, perhaps, by money raised compulsorily by taxes or rates from those of moderate means engaged in intellectual occupations, reduce the wealth available for the procreation of superior stocks. Once any difference in fecundity of the poor over the rich may have been counterbalanced by a higher mortality of children and childbearing women among the former.

¹ *Eugenics and Politics*, p 86

But improved medical science, together with much public and private humanitarian zeal, has checked the elimination of the less able and healthy. The reduction in the infant death-rate in this country from 156 per thousand in 1896-1900 to about 70 per thousand has probably increased the survival of the poorer and less vigorous more than the survival of the richer and more vigorous, and so must be counted as anti-eugenic.

Another of the great values of civilized life which has a *prima facie* dysgenic tendency, is that indicated by the general name of culture—that is, literature, art, science, and the like. For because the knowledge and appreciation of these is considered to be very important and desirable, upper-class parents require that their children should have a prolonged education in them. And this being very costly, the number of children which upper-class parents think themselves able to afford is much diminished. Moreover, this lengthy education defers the age at which young men begin to earn their livelihood, and therefore the age at which they marry, and so, even apart from any effect it may have in reducing the number of children, by lengthening the generations retards the rate of increase, as Francis Galton, the great pioneer in eugenics, long ago pointed out.

Moreover, the cultivation of the mind in these higher interests after the period of definite education is over is also expensive in various ways, particularly in respect of the domestic leisure and spaciousness and general comfort favourable to mental activity, all which leaves less money for bringing up children in

the approved style. Consequently those members of the community endowed with the greatest capacity for certain constituents of the best life, by exercising and developing that capacity both in themselves and in their children, are obliged to reduce the number of their children. The cost of the higher life limits the transmission of the capacity for the higher life. In the individual the use of a talent increases the talent ; but because, according to biological science, the use of a talent by the parent makes little or no difference to the talent as inherited by the child, but on the contrary tends to decrease the number of the children to whom the talent may be transmitted, it may actually cause the talent, in the sense of talented individuals, either to increase less rapidly or even to decrease. On the other hand, the stupid—the unintellectual and inartistic and unimaginative—neither caring for, nor being capable of education and culture, can produce children at comparatively small cost, and so multiply from generation to generation. There is a paradox here. It is as if, in order to increase the number of individuals capable of the best attainable life, we must very drastically limit their enjoyment of that life, bidding them rather concentrate on transmitting that capacity to as many children as possible. Culture appears like the proverbial cake, always to be looked at and never eaten.

Of course, it is not only good things that favour the survival of the inferior. War, which most civilized people now acknowledge to be an evil, is terribly dysgenic—for the obvious reason that the stronger and healthier are drafted off to kill each other, while

the weaker and sicklier remain in comparative safety at home. The A1 men perish without offspring ; the C3 men live to propagate their kind. But this is very much because of the modicum of humanitarianism that has been introduced into warfare. In ruder times the conquerors used to overrun the country of the conquered, destroying food-supplies and slaughtering many of the non-combatants, so that there was some tendency for the more vigorous breeds to survive. Luxury and expensive vice are also dysgenic, in so far as they diminish the inclination of the more capable to have large families. Dangerous pastimes are dysgenic, since it is mostly the more virile that indulge in them, to their own destruction. On the contrary, some evil practices seem rather eugenic in their general tendency ; for instance, a widespread habit of drunkenness, which naturally causes severer deprivations (of food, clothing, housing, cleanliness, etc.) among the poor than among the rich, and is more likely to kill off weak and unhealthy than vigorous and healthy stocks. It is further questionable whether or how far alcohol is a racial poison, in the sense of doing permanent injury to the germ-plasm. Similar doubt applies to the racial effect of venereal disease.¹

It is disturbing to think that polygamy is more eugenic than monogamy ; that charity, especially systematic charity aided by hygiene and medical science, is definitely dysgenic ; that the development of the mind in the apprehension of truth and beauty is apt to divert men from the more important business of propagating the best human stocks ; and that vices,

¹ *Vide* L. Darwin, *The Need for Eugenic Reform*, pp. 77-93.

by killing off the unfit, may actually promote the survival of the fit. What are we to make of all this? And what practically ought we to do about it?

A great book has appeared on the subject. Patiently sifting facts and testing arguments, laying side by side in orderly arrangement a multitude of logical conclusions, mightily rearing on massive foundations a great structure of scientific thought, Dr. Leonard Darwin, in his *Need for Eugenic Reform*, has given to mankind a work not unworthy to be regarded as the appropriate sequel to his father's *Origin of Species*.

Without pretending in any way to summarize this book of over five hundred large pages, I will attempt, by a few selections, to indicate its bearings on the ethical aspect of the eugenic problem. He states the causes of the "differential birth-rate" as follows: "(i.) The absence of juvenile labour and the relatively high expenditure on education amongst the well-to-do classes. (ii.) The earlier age at which the manual labourer marries as compared with the brain-worker [this being due, as he elsewhere explains, to the manual labourer attaining his maximum income sooner]. (iii.) The expensive habits of bachelors, which tend to delay marriage, especially among the wealthy. And (iv.) those social advantages possessed by members of small families which aid them in mounting the social ladder."¹ But why the exceedingly rapid decline in the birth-rate of the more educated and wealthier in the last forty or fifty years? Dr. Darwin opines that it is largely, if not chiefly, due to "the knowledge of the methods of birth limitation becoming more widely

¹ *The Need for Eugenic Reform*, p. 344.

known,"¹ and to the comparative rapidity with which the upper social classes have adopted contraceptive methods.² The motives, he believes, for limiting the family have long existed; only of late have effective means to this been discovered.³

But be that as it may, Dr. Darwin is incontrovertible when he maintains that, as humane and moral beings, we cannot promote racial progress either by allowing the weaker to perish in the struggle for

¹ *The Need for Eugenic Reform*, p. 331.

² *Ibid.*, p. 344.

³ This view has been strongly opposed. *Vide* three articles entitled "The Birth Control Illusion" in *The Commonwealth*, December 1926, January and February 1927, by C. E. Pell. The same author in *The Law of Births and Deaths* (1921) developed the theory "that the decline in the birth-rate is mainly due to a natural law which adjusts the degree of fertility to suit the death-rate of the race" (p. 190). He gives this instance in *The Commonwealth*, February 1927: "An excellent test case is provided by what happened in the Suez Canal Zone from 1901 to 1910, when Dr. Halford Ross applied the technique devised by his brother, Sir Ronald Ross, for the suppression of malaria. A drastic hygienic campaign was initiated, with the result that the death-rate fell from 30.2 to 19.6 per thousand, and Port Said was transformed from a fever-stricken hole to a health resort. To the astonishment of Dr. Ross this vast fall in the death-rate was immediately followed by a corresponding fall in the birth-rate. This striking and altogether unexpected result at once converted Dr. Ross to a belief that the whole matter is governed by natural laws." Such phenomena should make us chary of accepting the doctrine of Malthus, that population always tends to increase up to the limit of subsistence.

Allusion is here in place to Herbert Spencer's theory that individuation—that is, individual development—decreases fertility. Professor J. A. Thomson says that the proposition that "individuation and genesis tend to be in inverse ratio" is undeniable as applied to the evolutionary process generally; but "that high individuation directly lessens fertility," he regards as by no means proven (*The Control of Parenthood*, pp. 9-12). In any case, since many men of great intellectual power have had considerable families, there is no necessary incompatibility between a highly developed intellect and adequate parenthood.

existence, or by allowing the vicious to destroy themselves, or by adopting the methods of the cattle-breeder. In other words, our eugenics must not interfere with monogamy and charity and virtue, and he clearly thinks it possible by economic arrangements to make parenthood less inimical to culture. "Our aim," he writes, "should be to substitute for the blind, cruel, and often retrograde, methods of natural selection some form of conscious selection which will make all men in future more able than at present to follow in the footsteps of the noblest human beings now on earth." ¹ Thus Charles Darwin expounded the doctrine of "natural selection"; and his son, perceiving the cruelty and clumsiness of this method of evolution, proposes to substitute a rational and humane "conscious selection" of the best types. "The moral obligation thrown on men," he writes, "makes it absolutely necessary to repudiate both compulsory marriage and the murder of the unfit; and here it is we see the wide gap which must ever separate the methods of the breeders of animals from the methods of the eugenic reformer." ² "As to attempting to increase the fertility of the more fit, even if it be true that a decrease in educational facilities would make for an increased fertility, yet any move in that direction is obviously most undesirable. . . . Civilization is largely due to education, and to strive to promote the fertility of the better types by any attack on education would be to attempt to preserve civilization by destroying it. Education must be promoted at all hazards." ³

¹ *The Need for Eugenic Reform*, p. 130.

² *Ibid.*, p. 145.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 448.

What, then, are his remedies? In regard to people of the worst stocks—the feeble-minded, moral imbeciles, habitual criminals, the insane, epileptics—they must be prohibited parenthood altogether, so far as public opinion permits. This should be accomplished partly by segregation, partly by sterilization. Dr. Darwin recommends voluntary sterilization in certain cases; for instance, for those subject to occasional insanity.¹ But it is with the feeble-minded that he believes we should be most drastic.

“The feeble in mind have a high potential birth-rate, and certainly not a correspondingly high death-rate; so that, in the absence of all precautions, an increase in their numbers would seem to be inevitable. The incidence of feeble-mindedness in future generations could be considerably reduced in, say, half a century by the prohibition of parenthood to-day amongst all those thus afflicted. . . . This procedure would also result in a concurrent reduction in the number of idiots, imbeciles, lunatics, epileptics, criminals, drunkards, and probably of fools. It would tend to raise the whole tone of the nation; for all these undesirable classes pass on in a measure the defects from which they suffer.”² Segregation is desirable in the worst cases; but sterilization is less costly to the nation and kinder to the patients who are not too bad to have their liberty. Already sterilization has been put into practice in America; for example, “in California, where 2,558 operations were performed prior to 1921.”³ “There seems to

¹ *The Need for Eugenic Reform*, p. 238.

² *Ibid.*, p. 204.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

me," he writes, "to be ample justification for adopting it as a voluntary measure directly public opinion is ripe for such a move."¹ Would this not be the truest kindness alike to the race, to the children yet unborn, and to the afflicted individual?

Other methods are appropriate to those markedly under the average in general ability, without being definitely degenerate or morbidly abnormal. Dr. Darwin suggests for them instruction in contraception, with the permission to have one or two children, followed by segregation, with the option of sterilization, if more than that number appear. He would enforce this on all parents who, for a certain period, had been in receipt of public assistance, which he considers to be perhaps the least invidious practical criterion of relative unfitness. "It is proposed, in the first place, that a list should be kept of all persons who had been in receipt of public assistance continuously for a given period. . . . Under 'public assistance' should be included money or goods, whether supplied by the State or not, if given in the form of either systematic in- or out-door poor-relief, free feeding at school, unemployment doles, or insurance payments on account of ill-health. . . . All parents on the list who had had two or more children should be warned that no more should be allowed to appear, and of the consequences of a neglect of this warning. These conditions should be an immediate cessation of all public assistance, and also the maintenance of a special watch to see that the family was being reared under decent conditions in regard to accommodation, food, and

¹ *The Need for Eugenic Reform*, p. 178.

education. When the warning was found to have been neglected, another child having made its appearance, and when also the family was found to be living an uncivilized life, all its members should be segregated in some suitable institution. . . . To mitigate the severity of this procedure, all couples should be released from detention, either if it seemed probable that they could re-establish themselves in decent surroundings without public assistance, or if the man consented to be sterilized.”¹

But it is also necessary that the more fit should have larger families. Dr. Darwin makes several proposals for encouraging them to do so. He advocates family allowances in some form, so that the childless should have less to spend and parents should have more, proportionately to the number of their children. He also mentions income-tax adjustments and public financial assistance to education. But he thinks that such economic reforms would be insufficient without “a strenuous denunciation of undue family limitation amongst all superior stocks.” “It must come to be widely and deeply felt that it is both immoral and unpatriotic for couples sound in mind and body to limit unduly the size of their families; and failure to create this impression is certain if the attack is not conducted with religious zeal. There ought to be a vigorous moral campaign against a selfish regard for personal comfort and social advancement; for these aims must in a measure be sacrificed on the altar of family life if racial progress is to be ensured.”² Near

¹ *The Need for Eugenic Reform*, pp. 385, 386.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 414, 415.

the end of his book he writes: "Eugenics demand self-sacrifice, and religion is indeed the only power which it can call to its aid in this respect."¹ The eugenicist calls out for the help of morality and religion. How shall the ethical philosopher, and how shall the Christian Church, respond?

II

The eugenic programme is directed against terribly destructive and insidious tendencies in modern civilization. Let us not then ignore or condemn it as contrary to nature or as wicked or merely as impracticable, seeing that it is a sincere proposal for attempting to stop an apparently headlong rush of humanity into an abyss of decadence and imbecility. We should also note the sympathetic and gentle kindness, as of a wise and tender physician, with which Dr. Leonard Darwin would lead the ailing race of men to submit to the drastic treatment necessary to avert a frightful illness. Yet it may be possible to criticize and amend his eugenic scheme by means of social science and ethics, and further to test and sanctify and expand it in the light that streams from Christ.

To begin with, it is open to doubt whether the differential birth-rate will continue in its present extreme form. Customs are apt to spread, so to speak, downwards, from the richer and more educated to the poorer and less educated, the so-called lower classes imitating their supposed betters in matters good, bad, and indifferent. Birth-control is especially

¹ *The Need for Eugenic Reform*, p. 519.

likely to be practised by the poorer strata of society because of the prevailing desire to be, or at least in some measure to resemble, ladies and gentlemen. When the idea takes root among even labourers that it is not feasible for them when they become parents to feed and house and clothe themselves and their children in the manner to which they have become accustomed in their unmarried state, unless they severely restrict the number of their children, they will probably seize the means of doing so which lies to their hand. The present democratic and somewhat egalitarian trend of thought will favour the process. Even if, owing to improved methods of industrial and agricultural production, the purchasing power of wages advances considerably, as it has in America, still those who earn less will probably want to live in a style approximating to that of the wealthier members of society. It may be conjectured that the proximate danger is not so much the dying-out of the intellectual aristocracy, as the dwindling of the whole nation, possibly even of the white race, with the prospect of its being swamped by the less civilized coloured peoples of the globe, who may be longer in discovering and accustoming themselves to methods of family limitation.¹

But leaving this aside, let us consider what would be the social consequences if eugenists succeeded in

¹ At present, owing to enormous child-mortality among Asiatics and Africans, their rate of increase is not so great as in some parts of Europe and in the U.S.A. *Vide* diagram in *Population*, by A. M. Carr-Saunders, p. 75. In *The World's Children*, December 1926, the mortality among Moslems in Tunis, of children up to ten years, is given as 400 per 1,000 in 1921.

their immediate objective. Suppose that the educated, the brain-workers, "the professional class," substantially increased the numbers of their children; and that the uneducated, the unskilled labourers, together with the poorer of the skilled craftsmen, substantially decreased their offspring; would this make for social harmony? As things are, do not we find the professions overcrowded? Is it not sometimes puzzling to know what to do with our young people leaving the universities or higher schools after a costly education? Even if the education were provided at little or no expense to the parents, they would still experience the motive to limit the number of their children to two or three, instead of the old-fashioned five or more, so long as what they considered suitable occupations could not be found for them. The decrease in the birth-rate of manual labourers, desiderated by eugenists, might be welcomed also on economic grounds, as likely to reduce unemployment. It is probable, however, that work could be found for many more capable labourers if industry and commerce and finance were regularized, both nationally and internationally, since mankind could do with more food and other material commodities. It is more doubtful whether there is similar scope for more politicians, lawyers, doctors, journalists, and the like. In any case, a diminishing population of manual workers could not support a growing population of brain-workers indefinitely.

One might, however, have thought that, since the manual workers are now more prolific than the brain-workers, the total number of manual workers

would be increasing relatively to the total number of brain-workers, and that consequently there would be more positions for brain-workers than there are properly qualified applicants. Whence, then, the difficulty of finding enough openings for all the young men and women who have received a higher education? Our swollen higher schools and universities show that there are plenty of these forthcoming. The explanation of this anomaly is that the proportion of brain-workers in the community is being kept up by a constant influx of young people of less educated parents, which compensates for the deficiency in the birth-rate among the established families of brain-workers. And it is this phenomenon which gives eugenists so much concern, as apparently tending to a speedy diminution of the stocks capable of higher education and intelligent brain-work. Yet the present social structure evidently favours the seemingly dysgenic differential birth-rate.

The situation is fraught with danger and difficulty. If we leave it alone, racial decadence looms ahead. Yet to alter it would require great changes in social custom and feeling. Even if we contrived an equal birth-rate of upper and lower, aiming at the eugenic improvement of each class as a self-contained species, yet it would be wholly impracticable to try to prevent the exceptionally able of the lower pushing their way into the upper. For individuals of outstanding natural ability, if restricted to positions affording small outlet for their talents, are apt to develop into revolutionary leaders. It is imperative, therefore, that room be found among the more responsible and educated strata of the community for at least the brilliant children

of the less educated and more subordinate. And this room can be made in two ways only : by a birth-rate in the upper strata below the average, which *ex hypothesi*, is dysgenic ; or by some members of the upper strata adopting occupations of the lower. But if it is proposed to encourage a greater fertility among the educated than among the uneducated, then, indeed, must many children of the educated be prepared to earn their livelihood by work formerly done by the uneducated. In brief, the programme of the eugenists clearly implies the abolition of class-distinctions. But is England, or is any civilized nation, ready for this ?

The present state of affairs, in which the educated have less than the average number of children, thus leaving room for the very able children of the uneducated, however disastrous ultimately, nevertheless affords just now a tolerably harmonious arrangement, and for that reason would not be easy to alter. But can we be so sure that its natural end would be complete racial or national degeneration ? Let us imagine the process continuing until the lower strata have been depleted of all, or almost all, their potentially educable stocks, that is, of all hereditary strains from which may arise children who are capable of education fitting them for intelligent brain-work.¹ Would this result in the total extinction of intellectual ability ?

¹ I venture to express a doubt whether it is scientifically proven that this would be the inevitable outcome of the differential birth-rate, tentatively suggesting the hypothesis that as a plant from the same root puts forth a long succession of yearly growths, so might a nation from its lower classes be able to grow many comparatively short-lived aristocracies. Still, the analogy would lead us to expect an eventual decline and disappearance of the nation.

We need not expect that ; for when there were no more clever and capable children forthcoming from the lower strata of society, vacancies would appear in the brain-working professions. The chief motive for limitation of offspring among the educated would be no longer operative, and patriotism and the natural desire for children would join in promoting an increase in their birth-rate. Meanwhile, the tendency to overcrowding in the manual occupations would elicit both national and personal efforts to limit the fertility of the manual workers. Thus social stability and equilibrium would be reached in the form of two distinct classes : of brain-workers producing children fit to be trained for brain-work, and of manual workers producing children fit only for manual work.

All this obviously presupposes a modified eugenics, namely, the elimination of those unfit for any work, mental or manual, to which might be added some method or methods for diminishing the birth-rate of those under the average fitness for either kind of work. What is, under the present social arrangement, practically precluded, is any encouragement for the more intellectual to have more children than, or even as many as, the less intellectual. In other words, class-distinctions, while permitting breeding for use, render extremely difficult any but a very limited breeding for intrinsic human excellence. There does, in truth, seem to be a sort of natural selection in process—a weeding-out, not so much of the personally inferior, as of some of the too numerous personally superior, who just because of their superiority are not wanted in this imperfect world. If eugenists are set

on stopping this, they should first endeavour to change the social order.

So we find ourselves, in the attempt to draw up plans for arresting racial degeneration and promoting racial evolution, driven back upon more fundamental questions: "What are the principal ideal values of human life?" "What sort of social order is best fitted for their progressive realization?" "How are human beings to become moral enough to desire these values and to accommodate themselves to this social order?" "How is the will of man, when so directed, to influence the mysterious forces of generation so as to favour its purpose?" Less immediately practical, but necessary to render the whole meaning of life rationally intelligible, is the answer to the question: "How is the good of the individual, who appears for a while and disappears, related to the good of the race which it is the purpose of eugenists and other reformers to forward increasingly through a far-stretching future?" It is at this point that we may profitably turn to the teaching of Jesus.

III

Though Our Lord did not directly deal with the problems connected with eugenics, it may yet be possible to gain help for their solution by mentally bringing our conception of His mind and personality to bear upon them. We may be able in a measure, by identifying ourselves with Him, to think and feel about these difficulties as He would have thought

and felt ; nay, does even now think and feel in His exalted position over humanity.

First, that nature is important as determining the quality of life and is relatively enduring and difficult to alter, He indicated in His saying about the good tree bringing forth good fruit, and the bad or rotten tree bringing forth bad fruit. The Hebrew mind having a strong sense of the continuance of the life of the parents in the children, the saying could easily be applied to cover hereditary human nature, even though stress on heredity needs to be compensated by equal or greater stress on the ability of the new individual or generation to change, especially to be changed for good by the power of God.

Secondly, as to sterilization of imbeciles, monstrosities, and the like, have we any warrant for supposing that He would have disapproved of it ? Did not He manifest such affection for human beings, such tenderness and admiration for children, such hopes of what human nature should be, and withal such hatred of its distortion and deformity, that we may be confident that He would have sanctioned any reasonable methods for delivering mankind from these hideous afflictions ? His remark about those who have made themselves eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven's sake may be taken as evidence that He felt no special taboo against interference with natural functions for beneficent ends.

Thirdly, we may conjecture that He would have had something severe to say about the rich or well-to-do people who evade parenthood, in order not to diminish their already superabundant wealth, or

to interfere with their luxurious indolence. The fact that just those who can most easily afford children are least willing to incur the expense and trouble of rearing them, is another example of the demoralizing influence of riches, to which He was constantly calling attention. It would have constituted an additional argument for the doctrine of the stewardship of wealth, in this case the wealth entrusted to men for the rearing of the next generation. Whether we can legitimately regard with satisfaction the elimination by family suicide of mammon-worshipping strains is somewhat doubtful, seeing that poor people are apt to develop this tendency when they acquire wealth. But I think we can imagine Our Lord remarking how the selfish rich do not long inherit the earth, since by their own volition their generations fade away. This is part of the more general truth that only those who are willing to shoulder life's burdens will continue to have life.

Fourthly, He would have been able to meet the reluctance of intellectual parents to have more children than they can find intellectual occupations for. For He gave mankind an example of how a humble upbringing and a manual trade could be combined with the most transcendent spirituality. Or if we are inclined to demur that He, as unique Son of God, could in this respect, as in others, do what ordinary men cannot, what of His disciples, Andrew and Peter, John and James, the fishermen? What of the well-born and highly educated Paul, who occasionally earned his living at tent-making? It is arguable that occupations consisting mainly of brain-work may be

usually less favourable to the exercise of spiritual, or even of intellectual and æsthetic, talents than occupations predominantly manual. For eight hours in an office may conceivably leave one less inclined either for preaching or for poetry than eight hours behind a plough. If wealth and leisure were so apportioned as to provide the means for an abundant and exalted human life equitably for all, and to manual labourers and craftsmen no less than to members of intellectual professions, then the excuse put forward by the latter for objecting to their children adopting manual callings would lose its validity. It is very much our unbrotherliness and pride which hinder this to-day. See how Christ, Brother and Friend of all sorts and conditions of people, is waiting to show how to beat down these cruel barriers that sunder the unity of God's family and cramp the growth of wellnigh every one of us. We need Christ's social order that eugenics may perform their function.

Fifthly, Our Lord's vehement assertion of the power of prayer and faith tells us how to accomplish our aims when material effort is impotent. So, I make bold to predict, the human will, through prayer and faith, will be able to control births in a holy manner. Both material and spiritual forces have their uses. As we become more spiritual we shall be able to exercise more spiritual force. Surely the bringing of souls in the form of infants to souls in the form of parents is work to be spiritually effected.

Sixthly, Jesus helps us to solve the apparent conflict between the good of the race, to be obtained by wise breeding, and the good of individuals, to be obtained

by energetic use and development of faculties. For He will not let us ignore the infinite preciousness of individual souls, but foretells the transcendent glory of God's ideal for them in the words, "perfect as your Heavenly Father is perfect," and, "in the age to come eternal life." Neither does He allow us to depreciate the evolution of the human race, the temporal and mundane process from generation to generation, since the Kingdom of God is to grow till "the consummation of the age." He sets side by side the growth of individuals as children of God and the growth of the Kingdom of God, leaving us to think them together as two aspects of the one Divine purpose. If this be accepted, we can be zealous both for social betterment and for racial evolution, believing them to be alike essential and in some way interwoven.

Seventhly and finally, Jesus encourages us to undertake great idealistic schemes. For He said to His disciples, "I appoint unto you a Kingdom, even as My Father hath appointed unto Me." And by the parable of the Pounds, in which the man who turned his one pound into ten was appointed governor of ten cities, He intimated that the successful performance of smaller and easier tasks would be rewarded by greater and more arduous responsibilities. The many achievements of science in alleviating and improving the lot of man, the political and social promotion of human welfare, have for some time been training mankind for grappling with even such a mighty problem as that of providing suitable and continually improving heredity for the souls entering this world. That the eugenic question is becoming acute and is arousing keen

interest and grave concern, may be regarded as a sign that the time is not far distant when the race will be allowed and invited to take a much larger share in the control of its own breeding. But that it may do so with safety and advantage, it is needful that it learn of Christ.

CHAPTER X

FRATERNITY

IT is remarkable how much importance used to be attributed to the quality of being a lady or a gentleman, and how, in the eyes of some, mankind was divided into two classes—those who were gentlefolk and those who were not. Even quite religious people used to speak as if it was more important to be a gentleman than to be a devout Christian or morally good. The stress laid on this quality, and the great gulf between those who had and those who had it not, were the more irritating in that the quality was so indefinable and elusive. It did not consist merely of wealth, nor of education, nor of moral character, nor even exactly of these in combination, nor could it be precisely identified with manners, since a common person might be polite and an aristocrat excessively rude. It was something to be born with, and was practically impossible to acquire except by years of patient study in close association with those who possessed it. This strange attitude to life is less frequently to be met with to-day.

But this aristocratic pride, which in Great Britain has been tempered with charity and religious conceptions, has in other lands been one of the factors in the production of bloodthirsty revolutions. It is not merely, or even chiefly, poverty and ill-treatment that arouse the revolutionary temper and provoke

such savage outbursts as occurred in France under the Jacobins and in Russia under the Bolsheviks, but also the persistent attitude of superiority on the part of the upper classes to the lower classes. It is none the less resentment against social pride when directed, as in recent revolutions and class-warfare, towards the bourgeoisie—the class of manufacturers, financiers, and traders—who use their command of capital, not only to live comfortably, but to mark themselves off from the great mass of manual workers. The persistent wounding and irritation of the instinct of self-respect evokes a ferocity of hatred such as could hardly spring merely from the acquisitive motive and the general desire to escape from a condition of poverty. The contempt of centuries is repaid with the malignant cruelty of hours and moments.

This spirit of class-warfare and class-hatred found literary and economic expression in the *Capital* of Karl Marx. He maintained that the owners of capital deprived the workers of the world of the due reward of their labours, and that this continual injustice and robbery would lead at last to the forcible expropriation of the capitalist class by the workers. The will to this expropriation is widespread and constant in the civilized portions of mankind, sometimes causing violent upheavals, but more commonly political conflict by constitutional means and the industrial strife of trade-unionism. Its ostensible objective is the fair distribution of wealth, but it is directed more or less consciously against the very existence of classes.

It is hardly possible to dispute that class-distinctions

are on the wane. We may cull from old novels many examples of the ways in which members of the upper class or classes held themselves aloof from all other people, in the temper of Horace's "Odi profanum vulgus et arceo." To ride in omnibuses, to travel third class by rail, to take meals in cheap restaurants, used to be considered unfitting for any of gentle birth, but is so no longer. Nowadays we read of the Duke of York organizing camps in which boys from expensive public schools and boys from the State elementary schools fraternize on equal terms. The movement towards equality has gone farther in the comparatively young nations and States of European descent (in the United States of America and in the British Dominions), where in some places the children of the educated and employing members of the community are taught in the same schools as the children of labourers. But even in the old conservative nations of the Orient democratic ideas have of late years been working to reduce the sharpness of social cleavages, as in India with its *swaraj*; though the process may seem slow, and ancient prejudices die hard. If class-distinctions are destined to depart, it is better that we should accept and even further the process, than by resisting it risk revolution, with its almost inevitable accompaniment of devilish passions and appalling cruelty.

Surely the tendency of Christ's teaching is towards a society without classes, in the ordinary sense of the word. For He bade men entertain the poor rather than the rich; He told His disciples to call no man Master on earth; He Himself gave a personal example of lowly service. Early Christianity adopted the

traditional Jewish belief that God would abase the rich and proud and exalt the poor and humble, forcibly presenting it in the *Magnificat*. We remember, too, how St. James protested against snobbishness as inconsistent with the new religion: "My brethren, hold not the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, with respect of persons," particularly denouncing class-distinctions in the worship of God. St. Paul and others of the New Testament writers, though not demanding the emancipation of slaves, emphasized brotherhood, service, and equality of spiritual status, in such wise as to make earthly rank appear artificial and destined to disappear with the progress of God's Kingdom. There could hardly have been any class-distinctions in the company of the Nazarenes in Jerusalem, who had "all things in common."

But before we attempt to settle the question, we should be clear in our minds what we mean by social classes and class-distinctions. Classes, in this sense, are not to be confused with differences between individuals. It should be definitely stated at the outset that the disappearance of class-distinctions would not involve a general levelling or the attempt to mould everyone alike. Genius, talent, intellect, practical ability—all that makes one man rise above his fellows—must be given freedom and opportunity for development. On the contrary, it is rather classes that produce unnatural uniformities, withholding from some the chance to utilize their native gifts, and forcing less capable minds into schemes of education for which they are not ripe. Nor, again, would the abolition of classes necessarily involve the equaliza-

tion of wealth, though it would doubtless reduce the extremes of wealth and poverty. Nor are classes to be identified or confused with social groups and coteries. Literary men will naturally associate with literary men, artists with artists, men of science with men of science, farmers with farmers, theologians with theologians, and there will be friendly associations comprising people of different professions and interests.

Class-distinctions seem to be made up of the following elements: differences in the standards of dress, housing, food, etc.; the fact that members of the upper classes mostly pay to have their housework done for them, whereas members of the lower classes do it themselves; differences in mental equipment due to the prolonged education of the children of the upper classes; the fact that members of each class frequently entertain one another and occasionally members of a lower class, but those of a lower class only exceptionally entertain those of a superior; the fact that the marriage of members of different classes is comparatively rare and is strongly deprecated. But the root or ground of the distinctions consists in the difference of education, which is maintained by difference of wealth.

Difference of wealth does not so much constitute, as cause, difference of class, since by means of wealth parents are usually able to purchase for their children the education which carries with it entrance into a higher class, even into what is for practical purposes the highest class of all in the community, if the children have only the brains to profit by the education. For

a boy, if he makes a distinguished use of an education in a superior university, has a clear field before him in competing for the highest positions in Church and State; and a girl, if similarly educated, may be accounted eligible for marriage to a young man of brilliance and promise.

It should now be fairly evident what is to be understood by social classes. They are grades, not so much of individuals, as of families; and the distinctions between them are maintained from generation to generation by means of a purchased education. It certainly needs intelligence and a modicum of character in order to profit by education, so that very stupid children of upper-class parents are likely to sink socially, unless endowed with considerable wealth; also those who develop vicious propensities. On the other hand, an "educational ladder" has of recent years been provided by which remarkably clever children of the lower classes may mount into the higher, if not the highest, class. But the fact that the most advanced education is not only purchased by wealth, but also leads to the more highly remunerated occupations, tends to keep the children in the same class as their parents or in a neighbouring one.

However, classes are not rigidly defined and have lately more and more merged into one another. One might reasonably deny the existence of absolute classes, but describe social differences by saying that individuals occupy different positions in a continuous social scale, and that so-called classes are relative to individuals, consisting of what might be described as a person's social neighbours. The complex quality

which determines this position, being compounded of wealth, occupation, education, manners, descent, is possessed in greater or less degree, with no definite gradations, by everyone, and for each his or her class consists of those who have neither very much more nor very much less of this quality. It is clearly not true that two persons who are each of the same class with a third are necessarily of the same class with one another, just as two who may be within ten miles of a third may be nearly twenty apart. Still, among the residents in any locality we do find social groupings, though the boundaries between them may be very indefinite. But the real and practical question for us now is whether this hereditary and wealth-purchased rank is socially and morally justifiable.

I think that there is, or at least was, much to be said in its defence. An upper class, receiving more than an equal share per head of the total wealth of the community, has the function of directing the community's affairs, and of pursuing those intellectual and artistic aims which can hardly be achieved without a fair degree of comfort and command of the services of others. The conduct of national policy, biological and chemical research, the creation of great literature, the fine arts, could not, I submit, be carried on with much success by men and women with large families in small cottages on a plain and monotonous diet, too poor and busy to travel or to take holidays away from home. The community, including its poorer members, would ultimately benefit by assigning a little under the average share of the available wealth to the manual

workers, so that the comparatively few brain-workers might receive considerably more.

There is also something to be said for the existence of some leisured people, provided that their tastes are healthy and refined and that they spend some of their leisure in public service. For they may display, as an example to others, a combination of physical fitness, gracious demeanour, intellectual and artistic culture, and devotion to the public weal. They have their use in showing the world some aspects of possible improvements of human life. They, having advanced a little beyond the majority along certain paths of progress, can point the way to others.

But granted the need for classes of persons with special privileges and functions, need these classes be hereditary? Why should not they be continually recruited with children selected simply because of their individual fitness, and without regard to the wealth or position of their parents? The main answer to this suggestion seems to be that this procedure would offend against family affection. People naturally dislike to see their children sink into a lower class, in which there is less scope for the development of personality, making friends of those with whom their parents would find it difficult to associate, marrying partners who could not be invited into the old home without feelings of awkwardness. If there had to be an *élite*, set apart for important responsibilities and special culture, it may well have appeared advisable to use family relationships to consolidate and keep it intact, instead of dismembering it and merging it in the general population, as they would

have tended to do if it had not been to some extent hereditary.

But there are now strong arguments against having hereditary upper classes. In the first place, there is likely to be some loss of national efficiency if talented individuals of the lower classes are debarred from opportunities of developing and using their talents. Secondly, the more such opportunities are provided, the worse are apt to be the dysgenic effects. As explained in the preceding chapter, by means of the educational ladder the most capable strains are constantly being eliminated from the lower classes, and raised into the upper classes, where they lose their fertility. Consequently, this combination of class-distinctions with a career open to talents threatens racial degeneration. Thirdly, social distinctions provoke ill-feeling as being essentially unjust and rooted in pride and contempt. When parents of the lower classes see parents of the upper classes go to great expense and trouble in educating dullard children, they are tempted to interpret this as insulting to their own children. They are likely to express themselves as follows : " What so-and-so think good enough for our children, they regard as horrible for their own. They evidently consider the influence of our children and such as ours as pernicious. If it were a matter of giving clever children befitting chances in life, their efforts would be justifiable. But the fact that they keep even their stupid children from contact with ours, who are at least as capable, shows that they regard our children as too vulgar and coarse to be their companions." That more do not argue and feel

in this way, is due partly to good-natured tolerance, partly to the ingrained habit of deference in the poorer classes to the richer. But there is a danger that they may come more and more thus to argue and feel. There is a peculiar awkwardness in the case of a clergyman or any minister of religion who, from social convention united to parental affection, stints himself so as to send his children to upper-class schools, while he expects his poorer parishioners contentedly to send theirs to the elementary schools. How can he satisfactorily explain this to his flock as consistent with the plain teaching of his Master?

The maintenance of a close *élite*, though, as explained above, justifiable in the past because of the comparative scarcity of the material conditions of living, becomes less excusable as science puts it in our power to provide abundance for all. But it hardly follows that we should hasten to eradicate customs deeply rooted in the national soul. The process of abolishing class barriers should be gradual, perhaps rather a letting them fall than violent demolition, and should be accomplished more in the spirit of St. Francis than in that of Karl Marx.

The realization of a more brotherly social order will be achieved by the following methods: (1) The equalization of educational opportunities, all children being educated together, whatever the wealth and rank of their parents, and graded according to ability. (2) The reduction of household labour, partly by scientific appliances, partly by simplification of meals, and the like, so that there may be more leisure for women to cultivate their minds and participate

in outside interests, and less necessity for such a disparity of wealth between the educated and the uneducated as to induce the latter to sell their domestic labour to the former. (3) More readiness in the sons and daughters of those engaged in brain-work to adopt manual and semi-manual occupations as their means of livelihood, as we already see university men taking up farming. (4) The spread of systematic adult education, so that a manual occupation may be no bar to mental culture, in science or literature or art, or to association on equal terms with brain-workers and their families. (5) The fairer apportionment of income to needs, men and women with intellectual occupations and in responsible posts receiving such additions above the average remuneration as they require for their work, and all receiving, so far as practicable, an income adequate to personal development and social intercourse. (6) An ample measure of Christian generosity and humility and mutual respect, so that people may wish and try to give each other full opportunities for the exercise and development of personality, may not be ashamed to do simple work for the community, and may honour one another as human beings and children of God, whatever their occupations. (7) A better understanding of the real values of life in the light of the spiritual ideals set forth by Christ, so that so-called lowly occupations may be seen to be compatible with, and even favourable to, spiritual growth and spiritual service of the highest order.

Lastly, it is well to be on our guard against the danger, albeit only a temporary one, that in aiming at a general

levelling-up of mankind we give too little attention to outstanding abilities and individual characteristics. We should avoid mass production in education and culture, if by that is meant a quasi-mechanical output according to set patterns with a view to economizing the labour of teaching and training. We remember that Christ chose certain men to be His disciples and selected from among them a very few for special intimacy and responsibility, and that He used different methods for dealing with people with different needs and capacities. So it must be in the civilization which Christians endeavour to construct and develop in His Name. The fact that, in universal fellowship and equality and identity for all of spiritual principle and ideal, there is yet real independence and a manifold and continually fluctuating variety and inequality, calls for an ever wakeful and adaptable exercise of the Christian spirit, the love that gives liberty and suits itself to every diversity and makes of all one. It is no easy task that we have set ourselves, to apply the Divine Love to the transformation and evolution of mundane human society ; and yet to shirk it or to undertake it onesidedly would lead to more trouble in the end. Only the ideal is ultimately practical.

CHAPTER XI

THE SPIRITUAL VALUE OF EDUCATION

I

IN the wonderful passage in the Sermon on the Mount, commencing with the words, "Be not anxious for your life, what ye shall eat ; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on," Our Lord calls for a reordering of human existence of such a nature that people will devote their main energies to the main values, and attain the subordinate things with little effort or trouble. When He says, "Is not the life more than the food, and the body more than the raiment ?" He is rebuking the materialism of the worldly-minded, the eagerness about the means which ignores and misses the end, the vicious civilization which forces humanity into artificial and uncongenial moulds. He is telling people to eat and dress so as to live, instead of, as they are wont to do, living for the sake of eating and dressing. He calls attention to the fact that excess and over-elaboration of comfort produce disease, and that excess and over-elaboration of decoration produce ugliness. He proclaims the great principle of hygiene, the dominance of personality over its material instruments, and the great principle of art, the dominance of idea over ornament. He reveals the secret of vitality and beauty.

If the passage ended there, one might suppose the

practical application to be that we should strive for the well-being and development of the personal life, both soul and body, and adapt to this life the adjuncts of existence according to its varying requirements. But Christ proceeds to mention how birds feed and flowers are beautiful, without any trouble on their part, evidently by the providence of Almighty God ; as if implying that human beings would find excellent food and beautiful raiment with equal facility, if they only allowed God to provide them. He then urges His hearers to take as their primary aim the Kingdom of God and the righteousness of God. If this is done, He assures them that all these other things will come to them.

We find, then, in this passage, three strata of values : (1) the material appurtenances of human life at the bottom ; (2) human life itself, both mental and physical, intermediate ; (3) the Kingdom and the righteousness of God, at the top. Perhaps we may venture to relate the righteousness of God to the Kingdom of God as means to end, though the end includes the means. The mistake, Christ seems to say, has lain in an excessive amount of trouble being taken to secure goods of the lowest order, with the result that the intermediate goods have been grievously marred, and the highest not attained at all. The right method is to aim primarily and chiefly at the highest. Then the lowest will be received abundantly and without human effort, and the second or intermediate will prosper.

Surely we can appreciate the truth of this also. Each will best develop his own personality, not by

making it the chief object of his care and attention, which would lead to a morbid self-centredness, but by devoting himself to wider ideals, and ultimately to the supreme ideal, which is God's purpose for mankind. And this—the Kingdom of God—is to be won by human beings practising, and so becoming moulded by, the righteousness which God enjoins and which is indeed His own righteousness, the holy Love by which He acts and which He is.

It is only by such subordination of one's own personality and its interests to God's wider purposes that true greatness and goodness are achieved, as Christ said on another occasion: "Whosoever would save his life shall lose it; and whosoever shall lose his life for My sake and the Gospel's shall save it." So He holds up the picture of a Utopian civilization in which individuals will devote themselves to the life of the community and the race—in other words, to the life of God's family on earth; and therefore will individually prosper and grow as children of God, meanwhile receiving by His providence all the material things they need to their full satisfaction.

It is an entrancing glimpse of humanity transformed and exalted; but there are some aspects of it hard to understand. In the first place, is it really meant that sufficient food and beautiful raiment would, if we ceased to trouble about them and set our hearts on God's purposes, come to us without any care or effort on our part, even as they do to birds and plants? The fact that man, owing to his physical delicacy, has found the foods which other creatures live on unsuitable for him, and his own skin insufficient

protection against the weather, has stimulated his intelligence and will-power, thus obliging him either to evolve or to perish. In favoured tropical islands, where fruits hang on the trees to be plucked, and fish lie on the shore to be gathered, and covering is not needed for the body, the intelligence and moral character have remained undeveloped. It looks, then, as if the trouble required of man to obtain the necessities of life were itself a gift of God, one of His most valuable gifts to man.

We may admit all this, and yet vindicate this passage in the Gospel by various considerations: first, there is a touch of hyperbole in Christ's manner of speaking, with the object of arousing the attention, such as His hearers would readily make allowance for; secondly, what He deprecates is, not exactly effort, but anxiety and strain and carking care; thirdly, it is conceivable that these words were addressed primarily to His disciples, with the meaning that if they did their work of preaching the Gospel, God would see that others provided them with material necessities; fourthly, and, I think, most important, the difficulty and labour involved in acquiring these necessities is a temporary expedient for developing the intelligence and character, but in the new age men will be more and more relieved of this trouble and set free to exercise their minds on loftier matters.

In the second place, what are the Kingdom and the righteousness of God? The latter is surely expressed in the two supreme commandments of love for God and love for man. As people carry out these commandments, the world will be transformed into the

Kingdom of God, which Jesus said was already "within," or "among," His hearers. The Kingdom of God is the world under the rule of God, humanity and Nature as God would have them, in harmony with Himself. The inauguration and the development of the Kingdom of God, Jesus declared to be the chief aim of God for this world and the supreme hope and ideal for mankind, and therefore He invited men to make it the chief object of their prayers and endeavours. If that be won, all other goods and blessings will be achieved also.

But how are we to translate all this into practical ethical policy for this age? Granted that material needs should be strictly subordinated both to human life and to God's ideal, surely it does not follow that people should be careless or slovenly in cooking or dressmaking, or in any of the humbler tasks of the world. We may be confident that Christ did not mean that. But a reasonable application of His words would be the inculcation of simple requirements in food and dress and domestic comfort generally, an efficient and orderly simplicity adequate to health and decency, such as would not make excessive demands on people's time or purse. This simplification would be contentedly accepted and even welcomed, if men and women formed a better estimate of the relative values of life. For it would become apparent that the attainment of the higher values is rendered easier by a comparatively simple, and harder by a very elaborate, style of living. The craving for more and more of comfort and display is in truth a misdirected effort after a higher and fairer life in those who, through

selfishness and materialism, have been blinded to the right directions of search. Further, the capacity won by science of providing mechanically for the material needs of man with less labour may be regarded as part of the fulfilment of God's promise to feed and clothe His human children as generously, if they will but let Him, as He does the birds and the flowers. We may see in machinery and mechanical power an earnest of God's promise to give mankind a life free from material toil and care. Yet we may still believe that the efficient and conscientious performance of the humbler sorts of work can be a true method of seeking God's Kingdom, and the more so if they are regarded as ministering to the spiritual life of humanity.

But all is not clear yet. Suppose that we have by economizing labour set free considerable energy and time, how are we to employ these in seeking God's Kingdom? To the disciples of Jesus this command was intelligible when interpreted to mean, "Devote your lives to making men Christians," with all that this involved. But this could hardly become the main occupation of the majority in all the nations of Christendom. It may be true that the primary need for human beings is that they should love God and one another and embrace the Christian Gospel; but all this tends to become vague and evanescent unless it receives a concrete filling. How, in particular, are we to practise love to others? By feeding and clothing them? But we have been learning that we should reduce material requirements. By preaching to them? But suppose they are all con-

verted. By comforting and consoling them? But they are not all unhappy.

The answer must surely be that we must assist one another in the development of personality, this including intellectual and æsthetic and practical ability. For these, though not the only or even, perhaps, the highest constituents of personality, are yet vital and indispensable. Let us be quite clear why we should help one another in these qualities. It is for the same reasons that we ought to help in satisfying the most elementary bodily needs—of food and clothing and shelter. These reasons are two in number: first, to help others is an act of pity and elicits gratitude, both pity and gratitude being forms of love. Pity and gratitude may arise as much when one helps another to satisfy his craving for knowledge and beauty, as when one helps another to satisfy his hunger or desire for warmth. Secondly, both these kinds of help improve and develop life. As it is better to be strong and well than to be weak and sickly, so it is better to be educated both in intellect and in imagination and the appreciation of beauty than to be ignorant and mentally torpid and untrained. We naturally consider it right and obligatory to provide others with the conditions which favour bodily health and vigour and soundness. So should it be considered right and obligatory to facilitate mental health and vigour and soundness—in other words, to educate. It is good to be a philosopher, it is good to have deep and intense appreciation of poetry and to delight in the beauty of scenery and in music, it is good to have a wide and accurate comprehension of scientific knowledge—all for funda-

mentally the same reason that it is good to see, to hear, to be well-grown, to be physically vigorous. This reason is that it is good to live, and that it is better to live more than to live less. " 'Tis life and fuller that we want." If it is worth keeping alive at all, or attaining ever so humble a standard of bodily strength and mental capacity, it is worth developing personality to the utmost that this world admits of, provided that the development conform to the principles of truth and morality and spiritual well-being.

But, it may be objected, Our Lord told men to feed the hungry, care for the sick, and console the miserable ; but He did not tell them to pursue philosophy and art, or to contemplate the glories of the Universe. The command to seek first God's Kingdom almost seems to preclude such intellectual and æsthetic studies. For " the Kingdom of God " does not mean precisely " the expanding life of humanity," but rather " the world brought under the rule of God." It is in accordance with this that St. Paul pours scorn on the thought and art of the pagan world, as belonging to the folly and wickedness of the age that was coming to an end. Christianity signifies a new birth both of individual and race. " The old things pass away ; behold, I make all things new." Christendom, however, whether rightly or wrongly, has not kept up that attitude to the past. Divine thoughts have been discovered in Greek philosophy, the human form divine has been discerned in Greek sculpture, and the legal and political institutions of Rome were, strange as it may seem, actually copied by both Church

and State. But even if all pre-Christian culture and civilization were to be rejected as corrupt, still a new culture and civilization must be acquired—new metaphysics, science, art, poetry and music, political and social organization. Whatever may be the merit or demerit of ancient culture, there is an obvious necessity for some culture, such as will grow and evolve, and in which every human soul may participate so far as individual capacity and general conditions permit.

Or is the objection rather that Our Lord meant that we were to put the world right before we began to develop it, first establishing with God's aid the Kingdom of God, and only when that had been done, proceeding with culture and civilization? The pernicious uses to which science has been put, in fostering atheism and militarism, the libertinism associated with art, the various corruptions of democracy, may all be regarded as demonstrating the folly of trying to develop human nature before it has been redeemed. Ought we not to have, before anything else, sought the Kingdom of God, and not till we had found it and seen it well established, started to explore stars and protoplasm and atoms, painted pictures and written plays and composed operas, elected parliaments and colonized the Western hemisphere? It is hardly to be doubted that if men had in the first century A.D. learnt to love God and one another, as Jesus told them, the terrible abuses connected with all these enterprises—scepticism, licentiousness, avarice, wars, civil strife—would not have arisen.

On the other hand, it does not follow that if mankind had not progressed in these ways, their religious

and moral state would have been any the better. The fact is, we cannot stop evolution going on, just as in curing a child of a disease we do not attempt to stop his growth until the disease has disappeared. The apprehension and realization of Christianity having been so meagre and distorted, it was inevitable that the new culture became in part corrupted and wrongly used, owing to the continuance of sin in the world. Hence the movement of mankind towards the Kingdom of God has been, so to picture it, not direct, but diagonal. And to some extent this had to be. For love cannot grow *in vacuo* ; it must embody itself in the interests of humanity, allowing them to develop, and at the same time gradually reforming them.

This does not mean that science and art must be directly subordinated to dogma and definite moral purpose. Truth is to be sought for truth's sake, and beauty for beauty's sake, since only by such fearless freedom can the best in either be won. A similar independence of politics from religion is desirable, in that civil rights should not be conditional on acceptance of a creed. But the truth and beauty and public welfare thus attained will spontaneously contribute to that growing intercourse of God and man, in which alone is real health and harmony, if the spirit of love for God and man be abroad and active in our midst. For unless these enrich the Divine life of mankind, they will minister to the devilishness of the world. Science will, in that case, foster cynicism and brutality ; art will encourage sensuality and indolence ; democracy will be adapted to materialism.

It is the business of religion to bless and sanctify, while it accords liberty to the cultural progress of the race.

All this, it may be still objected, was remote from the thought of Jesus when He said, "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God." Nevertheless, it is really implied in His teaching. For He invited all people to recognize themselves as children of God and to strive for God's perfection. This ideal of Divine sonship involves participation in the Divine knowledge and activity. If we are to grow as children of God, we shall learn about the mind of God as revealed in His creation—in the sunshine and the rain, the ravens and the lilies, all of which Jesus definitely declared to be under our Heavenly Father's control. We have it on His assurance that the wisdom and glory of God are manifested in the structure and beauty of the physical world, even though it be to some degree marred by evil influences, in respect, for instance, of diseases. It follows that science and art are, or at least should be, methods of growing up as children of God, developing our minds by studying the expression of His mind. Likewise the study of human nature, in history and psychology, is a study of God's operation, since, corrupt though human nature be, it still retains some likeness to the Divine image, and it is possible, as in the case of physical science, to distinguish the true nature from its corruptions. Education, then, is, if it be healthy, a factor in the development of human souls as children of God, and is therefore essential to life in the Kingdom of God. We may infer from this the social obligation to provide

facilities for universal adult education, that men and women may continually grow as their Heavenly Father intends, comprehending more and more of His wisdom and glory.

But we must avoid what may be called a merely academical view of culture. Knowledge and contemplation are good, but they lead on to yet higher good, namely, to action by their means, to the production of the wonderful and the beautiful. If man has to learn of God, it is preparatory to his acting with God, co-operating with Him in His wise and glorious purposes. The doctrine of the Divine sonship of man implies no less. This gives a new dignity to science and art and education : they are all education for use, for active, and indeed creative, activity in co-operation with God. Even now has man been allowed to improve the world which God has given him : clearing forests ; dredging rivers ; planting gardens ; building cathedrals ; breeding, by selection, new varieties of plants and animals ; abolishing diseases ; uniting land to land in a network of rapid transport and communication ; and, in spite of mistakes, rendering the whole earth more habitable and in some ways even adding to its decoration. In recent years men of science have turned their attention to human nature itself, and are trying by physiology and psychology to increase its bodily and mental vigour. But if God's children have already, in their sin and imperfection, been training themselves to work with Him, may we not expect that a much larger measure of participation in His purposes will be allowed them when the Kingdom of God shall have been at last fully established ?

And the education of which we cannot make complete use now will, we may be confident, bear fruit in a life beyond. More briefly, in the memorable words: "The function of education is the training of the sons of God."¹ Surely, then, *the World Association for Adult Education* has undertaken one of the most important branches of the social application of the teaching of Christ.

II

It may be that some would like to see the foregoing estimation of the place and function of education in human evolution more metaphysically expressed. I therefore venture to borrow from Dr. Basil Yeaxlee's admirable *Spiritual Values in Adult Education*, summarizing, or rather culling from, the philosophical chapters at the beginning.

"In personality lies the power of the individual at once to stand apart from all other persons and things in the Universe and to relate himself to them. . . . Personality in human beings is not static, but dynamic. In this sense Gentile is right when he speaks of it as a 'becoming.' It is perpetually receptive and perpetually creative. . . . Human personality, it is true, may in its fullness and complete unity be an achievement rather than 'something given.' But this is because it finds itself in an infinite Universe, no part of which is ultimately inaccessible to it, and all of which has meaning and value for it.

¹ Report of the Archbishops' Committee on *The Teaching Office of the Church* (1918).

“ When, therefore, we say that personality is spiritual we mean not merely that it is not material, a higher aspect of the physical and nervous organism which we know as the human body (though we do not forget the fact that human personality is incarnate spirit, body-mind) ; we mean that there is in personality something infinite and universal, realizing itself in the concrete human life of the individual, the transcendent becoming immanent, but yet not making of that individual a mere puppet without power of resistance or initiative. To possess personality implies that one has a part to play in a drama which is real and eternal, though the stage, so far as we are concerned, is set within time and space.” (Vol. I. pp. 23-25.)

Dr. Yeaxlee quotes in support of his view of human personality from various philosophical and scientific writers :

(1) From Professor Pringle-Pattison : “ The essential feature of the Christian conception of the world, in contrast to the Hellenic, may be said to be that it regards the person and the relations of persons as the essence of reality.”

(2) From Mr. S. A. McDowall : “ Finite personality acquires infinity through union with Infinite Personality. It thus becomes the fulfilment of the functioning of the Infinite, yet retains its own identity.”

(3) From Mr. Julian Huxley : “ Biologically, the essence of real personality is first that it is organized, and secondly, that on each of its many faces it can, if I may put it metaphorically, enter into action at a single point, but with its whole content of energy

available behind the point. . . . Another power of personalities is their power of interpenetration."

(4) From Professor J. Arthur Thomson: "This fine cerebral cortex, with its 9,200,000,000 nerve cells, is the protoplasmic correlate of man's true insignia—his capacity for working with general ideas, for language, for strong social sympathies, and for self-consciousness of himself as a personality with a history."

It is in personality that Dr. Yeaxlee finds value, and in the supreme development of human personality, in which the finite is united to the Infinite, he sees the supreme value or good. "The highest attainment of the human species is the attainment of absolute values" (p. 29). So he quotes Professor Pringle-Pattison: "To frame an ideal and pursue it means the presence of the infinite in the finite experience; or, from the other side, it is the mark of the finite being who is partaker in an infinite life." Dr. Yeaxlee again: "If all that we have said of personality in man and in the Universe is true, we are committed to the faith that the spirit of man answers to the Spirit of the Universe. Spiritual values are those which belong to the human person in common with the Universe known also as personal. They do not detach him from the physical, the intellectual, the moral in his daily round. They interpret and ennoble these—his bodily functions and pleasures, his intellectual pursuits, his work, his privileges and duties in relation to his kith and kin, his place in the life of the city, the State, the world of nations—by placing them in a universal setting" (p. 33).

Dr. Yeaxlee has next to show that education at its best develops personality in this spiritual way, enabling the individual to reach out to and become one with the Infinite Universal. Again he makes several quotations :

(1) From Matthew Arnold : " The prime direct aim " of education " is to enable a man to know himself and the world."

(2) From Professor Campagnac : " Education is to make a man master of himself and of his own world ; to make him aware of his neighbours and their worlds ; and to teach him and them together to make all their several worlds a new, a social, world, a society which embraces, reconciles, and transcends them, and to live in that new world. What is important to note is that the new social world cannot embrace and reconcile the smaller individual worlds unless it transcends them." " Here once more," remarks Dr. Yeaxlee, " we come upon that relationship between the individual and society, the personal and the universal, finite and infinite values, which we have already seen to be essential to any philosophy that covers all the facts " (p. 42).

(3) From F. W. Sanderson, of Oundle : " The business of schools is through and by the use of a common service to get at the true spiritual nature of the ordinary things we have to deal with."

(4) From Mr. A. C. Clutton-Brock : " The great educators always tell us that we must appeal to the child's own sense of absolute values ; for that sense is in the child, and it is the same in all children, though it may vary in strength. It is the common faith of

all great educators that absolute values are always of the same nature in all human beings."

(5) From Sir Michael Sadler: "A liberal education . . . opens windows in the mind. . . . Its highest purpose is to give us insight into reality and to give us the power of distinguishing between what is true and half-true or false. . . . But one fundamental part of it . . . is the training of the habit of worship and the sense of awe. For some minds and under some teachers, this is given by the study of science, by music, by painting, and by the love of nature. But religion is the supreme channel through which this, the deepest influence of a liberal education, comes to heart or mind and gives the Divine vision. This is what William Blake meant by saying that true education lies in the cultivation of the imagination."

Thus Dr. Yeaxlee leads his readers on to the thought that education, by developing personality in relation to reality, culminates in religion. Education enriches religion; religion focuses education. He quotes Professor Bosanquet: "We must not let go our main grasp of the values which, wherever brought into being in a world, so far make heaven of that place and time, and which all religion teaches us to cherish here and now, as everywhere and always—love, beauty, truth. In these our unity is solid and plain—our unity with God and with the whole of being." Also from Dean Inge: "True faith is belief in the reality of absolute values. . . . It is because we know what Truth, Beauty, and Goodness mean that we have our part in the eternal life of God, whose revealed

attributes they are." But it is not only an exalted study of truth, beauty, and goodness, that will give force and content to our apprehension of, and communion with, God ; but also a manifold participation in the world, and a discovery of these supreme values in common experience. So Dr. Yeaxlee : " Just as men's feelings about God will be influenced by their thought of Him, and their effective relationship to Him must involve the exercise of will, so the outcome of their religion in these ordinary relationships and activities of personal and social life must inevitably be conditioned by their knowledge and understanding of facts, laws, and principles which we assemble under such categories as those of mathematics or applied science, arts and crafts, economics and industry, domestic affairs, or politics. Religion as mystical experience, moral standard, or spiritual motive, is a disembodied abstraction in so far as it does not issue in conduct within all the varied spheres of human activity. Consequently it cannot be real and living apart from some sort of knowledge, both of things infinite and eternal and of things finite and temporal " (p. 79). He proceeds : " To teach only the content of the Bible, the essentials of belief, the ethical code, the methods of the devotional life, is not Christian education in any adequate sense. The application of all these truths is required, but is impossible so long as ignorance of the other great facts and forces of life prevails. It may be that the business of the Church is primarily to inspire men and women to worship and to practise fellowship. . . . But it cannot stop there. It must see that they know the rest,

and that this knowledge is related to that which the Church has imparted. Believing in the oneness of truth, the unity of personality, and the harmony of society, it must co-operate with all really educational agencies in the community, or its own specific work will remain incomplete, and may even be nullified" (p. 80). Yet again: "The complete man is at work in all true religion as in all true education. Faith is essential to science, as science is to faith. Wonder and joy are the fruit of education, as enlargement of knowledge and clearness of purpose are of religion" (p. 87).

All this, coming with such a vast and varied volume of support derived from the writings and speeches of philosophers, scientists, educationalists, and theologians (far exceeding what there is space to reproduce here), should give us confidence in our demand for a systematic scheme of universal education as essential to the ideals set forth by Jesus Christ. Dr. Yeaxlee's main thesis, that religion and education are interdependent factors in the development and life of personality, and therefore, in the attainment of the *summum bonum* for human souls, seems to be endorsed by the majority of the most capable and experienced minds in the present-day world. But I would suggest that his statement of it is susceptible of further elaboration. In the first place, we should distinguish, more than this author seems inclined to do, between the two functions or aspects of education: first, the practical, which enables the individual to participate more widely and usefully in the concrete affairs of human life; secondly, the liberal, which aims at

bringing him into touch with the great Divine principles—truth, beauty, goodness—immanent in the Universe, and so enriches and strengthens his religious life, that is, the apprehension of, and communion with, God. To put this in Gospel language, education should enable us to love more effectively both our neighbour and God. Certainly, these two aspects are not susceptible of definite demarcation from each other; but it is well to be conscious of these two directions of development in our studies, as in life generally.

Secondly, education should be distinguished from the action which proceeds from, and makes use of, education. In the one the mind is moulded or moulds itself in reference to its environment; in the other it moulds its environment in accordance with itself, that is, with the ideas of good which it entertains. The former is preparatory to the latter; we study the nature of objects so as to make them conform to our purposes. Hitherto education has been in the main confined to the earlier years of life, and action or work has only begun when systematic education has ceased. But the scheme of adult education implies that this definite division between learning and working must cease: man should be for ever studying, and for ever, by means of the knowledge gained thereby, working and exercising influence. But though the two should go on *pari passu*, they are not to be confused. As remarked above, we should avoid a onesidedly academic ideal. In receiving adult education, people should endeavour to utilize it, both in practical affairs and in religion. We must

both take in and give out, if we are to be well-balanced and healthy personalities.

Thirdly, a more lively conception of the Personality of God than philosophy is wont to offer, leads on to the thought of fellow-working with God as the necessary consequence of learning about God. For personality is practical, active, productive, and desires association with other personality that is practical, active, productive. By studying God's creation and God's purposes we become capable of performing our function of helping God to adapt the material world to evolving humanity and to forward the evolution of humanity according to the ideal in His mind. That this is what has been actually happening seems hardly disputable from a liberal religious standpoint. For science has been enabling man, not only to appreciate God's wisdom and glory manifest in His creation, but also to make His creation more responsive to the increasing needs of man. It also has been enabling man to make human life nearer what we may suppose God means it to be—healthier, securer, wiser, richer in varied activities and interests. To this we may add man's co-operation with God in spreading the Christian Gospel and in training character according to the religious and moral principles contained therein, all by means of the knowledge about God and His relation to man which has been vouchsafed him. Now because this participation in the Divine creative evolution is a great human good, all have a right to that education which will facilitate it. Education is therefore valuable, not only because of the knowledge and appreciation which it affords to souls of God and His

works, but also because it prepares them to become fellow-creators with God.

But some may say, "After all, is not eternal life the chief good at which human beings are to aim, at least according to Christianity? What bearings has education upon this?" First, we should guard against the assumption that eternal life is equivalent to survival of death, as it is shown not to be in the parable of Dives and Lazarus, and should bear in mind that in the New Testament, at least in the Johannine writings, eternal life is regarded qualitatively as a condition into which even on earth man may enter. We may then proceed to observe that the experiences and activities which education mediates do in exalted hours or moments suggest to the subject participation in the life which is Divine and eternal. The philosopher's "intellectual love of God,"¹ the rapture of the poet and the artist, the philanthropist's social fervour, all seem at their highest intensity foretastes of eternal life.² All these are capable of conveying the sense of the *unio mystica*, the life with God and in God, which transcends the limitations attaching to mortality. Therefore, we may venture the hypothesis that, not only human evolution, but also eternal life, with which it is deeply connected, is somehow promoted by the living union of the highest religion with the highest education.

What are the prospects now of adult education? There are at the time a number of agencies in this

¹ Spinoza.

² Consider Goethe's phrase, "Ewiges Lebens ahnungsvoll," "full of the presentiment of eternal life."

and other countries for its promotion : The Workers' Educational Association ; the World Association for Adult Education, which has grown out of it ; University Extension ; Adult School Unions ; Women's Institutes ; the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. ; and similar institutions abroad. Doubtless it is at present only a small proportion of the population that actually studies through any of these organizations ; but the movement is yet in its infancy. We may hope that in a generation it will be regarded as a sort of social duty to continue into middle life the training of the mind and the enlargement of experience, as it is now to be decently dressed. To quote Dr. Yeaxlee again : " While the extent of the adult movement, as we see it in the England of to-day, is still so lamentably small in proportion to the size of our population, it has this great advantage over its progenitors of two or three generations ago. It has clarified and enlarged its aims and is coming more fully to understand the nature of the spiritual values that have already been implicit in its quest. . . . It can count upon a widespread and growing conviction among all sorts of people outside its own borders that its progress is vital to every true interest of the national life. That conviction, moreover, is founded upon practical idealism. It is reinforced by the hopes and fears born of more intimate acquaintance with international problems " (Vol, II. p. 51).

Dr. Yeaxlee mentions the educational activities of the Churches, not only in definitely religious subjects, but in literature, music, nature-study, and economics ; but deplores that " the Churches as a whole have not

awakened to the idea that the *education* of adults is an essential part of the function of the Church " (p. 63)

Against this may be set the pronouncement in the C.O.P.E.C. report on Education: " The Churches should seek definitely to co-operate with other bodies in the general movement of adult education, particularly by encouraging their members to join in such activities, whether as students or teachers." ¹

It is surely the business of the Churches to bring religious and secular studies together, that people may undertake enterprises and attack problems from an idealistic and Christian standpoint. In spite of the stagnation and indifference as to knowledge and ideals in great masses of the population, the fact that here and there we find inquiry and enthusiasm should give us hope. Some day adult education will become a permanent and universal factor of human life, not only in this nation, but in all the nations of the globe, being recognized as altogether essential to the fulfilment of human destiny.

¹ *Education*, p. 205.

CHAPTER XII

SOCIOLOGY AND PRAYER

IN the Preface to the Revised Book of Common Prayer, we read as follows : " We are living in a new world : it is ours, if we are true to the faith that is in us, to seek to make it a better world. It is by prayer and service that we may hope to do it."

These are stimulating and inspiring words. They imply that we need new forms of worship corresponding to the new conceptions of service whereby we are privileged to co-operate with God in social reform and social progress. The old Book of Common Prayer, though endeared by long familiarity with its beautiful cadences and comforting phrases, does not satisfy ; and that very much because it gives so little expression to self-consecration to, and participation in, the Divine purposes for humanity. As Professor Barry well says, " There is no suggestion in it that the Church has any mission to the State ; there is no note of any social venture." ¹

It is for lack of this that repentance and petition and thanksgiving and the praise of God tend, with constant use, to be forced, insincere, fanciful, self-centred. Hence with many there is a growing disinclination to frequent church-going. And yet there has been no very eager quest after more satisfying

¹ " The Conception of God " in *The New Prayer Book*, edited by Professor H. M. Relton, p. 69.

forms of worship. For indolence and timidity make people hesitate to bring their affairs and aims and plans before God for Him to sanctify, since they are afraid of what He may ask them to do.

However, a new religious spirit is developing in accordance with the wider outlook and the practical idealism of the modern world. It will demand that Divine worship should be permeated with this thought : " We know that there is much evil in the world, and that there are vast possibilities of ever-increasing good. We desire to do what lies in our power to reduce the evil and to realize the possibilities of good. With this supreme purpose at heart, we offer ourselves to God, that He may enable us continually to fulfil it." It is mainly this, I hold, that is needed to revive and develop religion. Even belief is secondary, since " Whosoever shall do the will, shall know of the doctrine." A general enthusiastic devotion to the good of mankind, if linked with sufficient faith to cause men persistently to seek God's help in prayer to attain that good, will presently lead to such other beliefs as are necessary, both for their action and their worship.

The Revised Prayer Book does provide rather better than the old Book of Common Prayer for the hallowing of the practical affairs of the world by the Spirit of God ; for instance, by means of some of the *Occasional Prayers and Thanksgivings*, though these suggest too much an attitude of aloofness, as if intercession exonerated from any obligation to active help, and fail to express any eagerness in the worshippers to be up and doing. We should welcome the service

entitled "An Exhortation," at the end of the volume, because of its full and strong insistence on the positively ethical character of Our Lord's teaching, though even here we miss any reference to its social application to the world of to-day. But in the rubric which permits other prayers at the discretion of the minister, the Revised Prayer Book does afford considerable opportunity for adapting public worship to social life.¹ Suggestions to this end may be culled from many manuals of devotion, written and compiled by adherents of various denominations and types of religious thought. The so-called *Acts of Devotion*, authorized for use in some of the dioceses, is likely to be very useful. But all this is not enough. The spirit of united self-consecration to the will of God, for the restoration and evolution of humanity, should permeate all our worship. Religion should be conceived of as the link whereby the creative activity of God, and the strivings of man for improvement, become the co-operation of God and man in the Kingdom of God.²

A new epoch is commencing. The mists of superstition are evaporating; the habits of ancient barbarism are being discarded; and men are beginning to think clearly and to will resolutely for the general good, as they have never done before. The scepticism, the strife, the materialism of the past, have given the world hard lessons, which, by God's grace, are

¹ "Note that, subject to any direction which the Bishop may give, the minister may at his discretion, after the conclusion of Morning or Evening Prayer, or of any Service contained in this Book, offer prayer in his own words."

² Vide *The Ethics of the Gospel*, p. 252.

inducing men to seek and to find what they lack for salvation and true progress. They are being led to the state of mind in which they will be willing to learn what is the Divine purpose for humanity, and to determine to labour and strive for its progressive attainment. The issues are becoming more apparent, the meaning of life is being revealed, the call of Heaven is sounding clearer. In spite of all the uncertainty, discord, futility, the prospect was never so golden. But humanity must first learn of Christ, the Christ that was in Palestine, and still speaks to us through the pages of the Gospel, the Christ that lives ever to guide and inspire.

APPENDIX

WITH considerable diffidence, I offer these prayers as examples of some of the elements in Divine worship which I desire to see more emphasized in the public liturgies of Christendom. I am aware that they are likely to appear very slight in view of the tremendous issues and opportunities in relation to which we are called on both to work and to pray. But I hope that they may suggest to others that of which I feel so acutely the lack in the customary forms of worship, and that some may thereupon set about to compose more prayers embodying, more fully than these do, these neglected but essential aspects of man's communion with his Creator. I put at the head of each of these acts of worship a saying from the Gospels. And I commence with a prayer of self-consecration to Christ, as to the everliving Saviour, through whom we approach and hold converse with our Heavenly Father.

I. SELF-CONSECRATION TO CHRIST

" Follow Me."

O Jesus, Son of Man, may we be Thy disciples? We would surrender all pleasures and aims that accord not with Thy service. We would endure all hardships and losses that may befall us as we do Thy behest. O Thou Who didst heal and comfort the sick and the sorrowful, inspire us with Thy wonderful power of sympathy. O Thou Who didst conquer on the cross, make us brave with Thy great courage. Though we be weak and tender, in Thy fellowship we shall not fail. O Mighty Captain and Friend, we pledge ourselves to Thee for ever,

II. DOING THE WILL OF GOD

"Thy will be done, as in Heaven, so on earth."

O God and Heavenly Father, unite us to Thee in Thy universal purpose of love and wisdom. Assign to us our duties in the vast company of Thy creatures accomplishing Thy will. We would on earth and in the flesh labour in unison with unseen beings in heavenly places. May we be industrious and faithful in our appointed tasks. In learning and in labouring, in seasons of happiness and in hours of sorrow, in this life and beyond, make us and keep us Thy fellow-workers.

III. FOR UNSELFISHNESS

"As ye would that men should do to you, do ye also unto them likewise."

Thou God Who lovest all souls, purge our hearts of every taint of selfishness. May we count another's weal or woe as of equal moment with our own. May we hasten to succour those in danger as we would wish to be succoured, and to pray for them when we can do nought else. Enable us to think ourselves into the minds of others, sympathizing in their longings, their disappointments, and their joys. Grant, O Father, that we may understand and remember the depth and strength of human affection, of parents for children, and of children for parents, of husbands and wives, of all friends and lovers. So shall we be swift to help in anxiety, to console in grief, to bless in happiness. Breathe into us of Thine infinite Love, that it may flow through us into the world around. Make us Thy true children, that we may ever comfort and uplift.

IV. THE USE OF WEALTH

"Make to yourselves friends by means of the mammon of unrighteousness."

All our possessions, O God, we hold as stewards for Thee. Preserve us then from dishonest or foolish stewardship. Teach us wise generosity and true charity. Brace our hearts to self-denial for those in want or danger. Enable us by our gifts to call forth gratitude in many desolate souls and to win them to a deeper knowledge of Thy love. Show us how to apply our money to the real welfare of mankind. May we so rightly use our earthly possessions that we may become worthy to receive of Thee those heavenly riches that shall never be taken from us.

V. SOCIAL REFORM

"Verily I say unto you, that whosoever shall say unto this mountain, Be thou removed and be cast into the sea, and shall not doubt in his heart, but shall believe that those things which he saith shall come to pass : he shall have whatsoever he saith."

In Thy Name and with Thy power, O God Almighty, we bid the evils of the world depart. Strengthen us to contend with and overcome them and bring them to nought. We are ready to spend and to be spent, yea, even to lose our lives in the conflict, saving them for Thy Kingdom. Especially do we implore Thy help in removing . . . [e.g. war, racial enmity, industrial strife, intemperance, slums, the mortality of children, cancer]. O Thou Who dost pity humanity, so stricken and tortured, show us how to succour our fellow-creatures, Thy children beloved. Make us ministers of Thy saving compassion, praying, believing, working, striving, loving, as Thou in Christ hast bidden us.

VI. TOLERANCE AND UNITY

"Judge not." "That they may be made perfect in one."

Since Thy wisdom, O God of Truth, is infinite, and Thou hast revealed portions and aspects thereof to men of many minds, keep us, we beseech Thee, from contempt or dislike of those who think not as we think and believe not as we believe. Make us alert to discern truth in various parties and associations, even in other religions than our own, seeing that in no people of the earth hast Thou left Thyself without witness. Show us how to join with those who differ from us in feeding the hungry, healing the sick, uplifting the fallen, caring for children, training the young, so that fulfilling together with them Thy commands of charity we may be more and more united to them in faith; till we all attain unto the knowledge of Thee revealed in Jesus Christ, and there be one fold and one Shepherd.

VII. THANKSGIVING

"I thank Thee, O Father, Lord of Heaven and earth."

O Creative Spirit, Who art our Father Eternal, we thank Thee for this world so beautiful and wonderful. We thank Thee for our marvellous bodies and minds. We thank Thee for the joy of life and all our happiness. We thank Thee for our homes and our kindred and the love that knits us to them. We thank Thee for our work whereby we serve our fellow-creatures. We thank Thee for the revelation of Thyself in Jesus Christ and the redemption we have through Him. We thank Thee for the glory of labour and self-sacrifice in His following. We thank Thee for the hope and vision of the yet more wonderful life to come. O Father God, we will thank and love Thee for evermore.

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